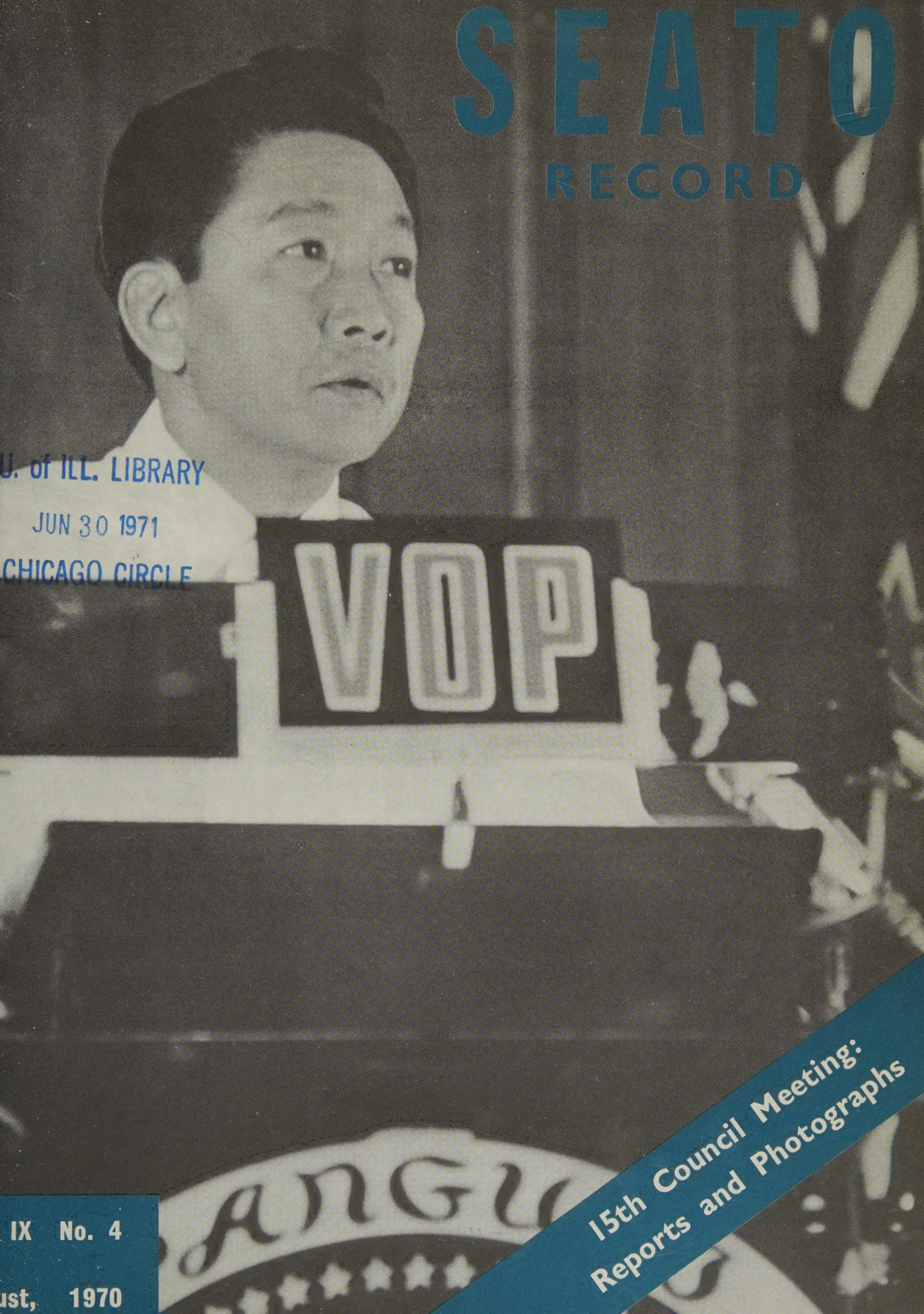
SEATO RECORD



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15th Council Meeting: Reports and Photographs

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SEATO
RECORD

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COVER PICTURE:

President Ferdinand Marcos delivering the keynote address at the opening of SEATO's 15th Council Meeting in Manila on July 2.

SEATO RECORD features significant events in South-East Asia, as well as activities of the Organization and its member nations. It reports statements which reflect attitudes or policies related to SEATO's role as a defensive organization.

SEATO PROJECTS:

AGRICULTURAL RESEARCH PROJECT

SEATO REGIONAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CENTRE

SEATO VEHICLE REBUILD WORKSHOP

SEATO SKILLED LABOUR PROJECTS:

Thailand—initiated by SEATO

Military Technical Training School, Bangkok.
Teacher Development Centre, Bangkok.
Vocational Training Centres located in 19 provincial cities.

Pakistan—

SEATO Technical Training Centre, Dacca.
SEATO Technical Training Centre, Karachi.

Philippines—

SEATO Vocational Training Centre, Marikina.

SEATO MEDICAL PROJECTS:

Thailand—

SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, Bangkok.
SEATO Clinical Research Centre, Bangkok.

Pakistan—

Pakistan-SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory, Dacca.

SEATO CULTURAL PROGRAMME

Under-Graduate Scholarships, Post Graduate Scholarships, Fellowships, Professorships. Literary Awards

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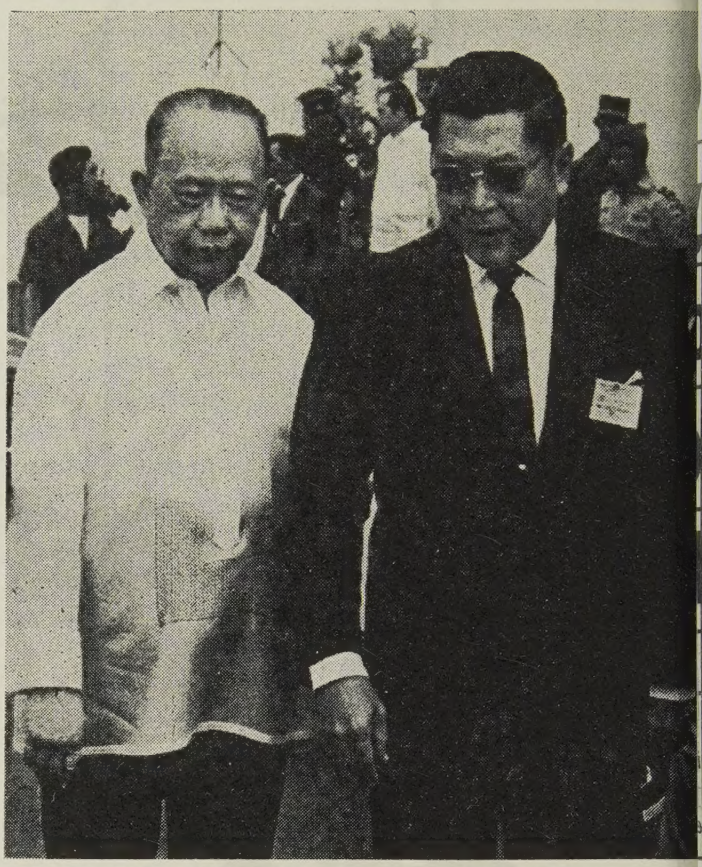
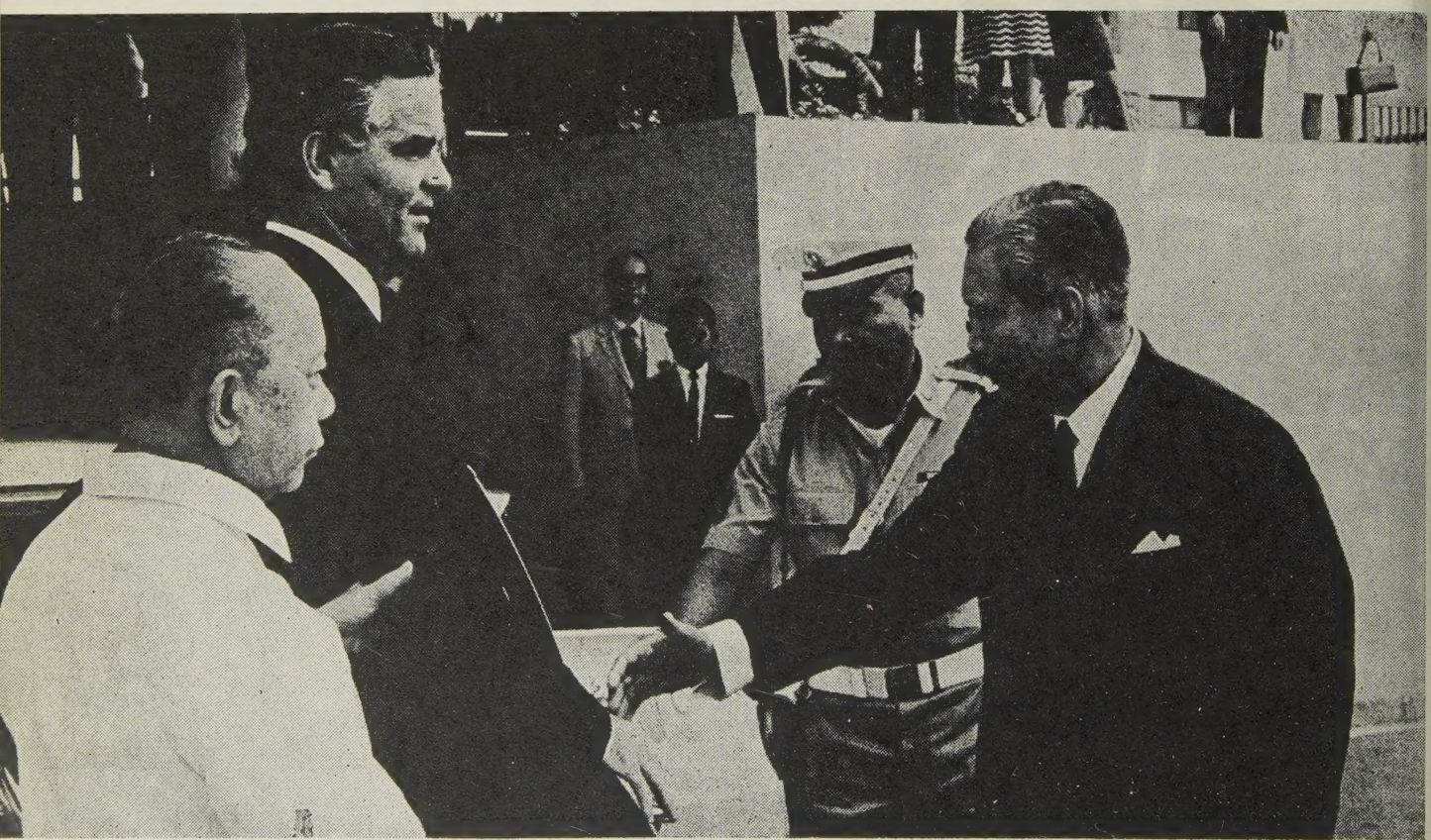
15TH COUNCIL MEETING OPENS

● The flag-raising ceremony on the morning of July 2 signalled the opening of SEATO's 15th Council of Ministers' Meeting in Manila.

WELCOME



ABOVE: The U.S. Secretary of State, William P. Rogers, and Mrs. Rogers pictured arriving at Manila. BELOW: The British Parliamentary Under Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Anthony Royle, being welcomed by the Philippines Foreign Affairs Secretary, Carlos P. Romulo, and SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas at the conference site.



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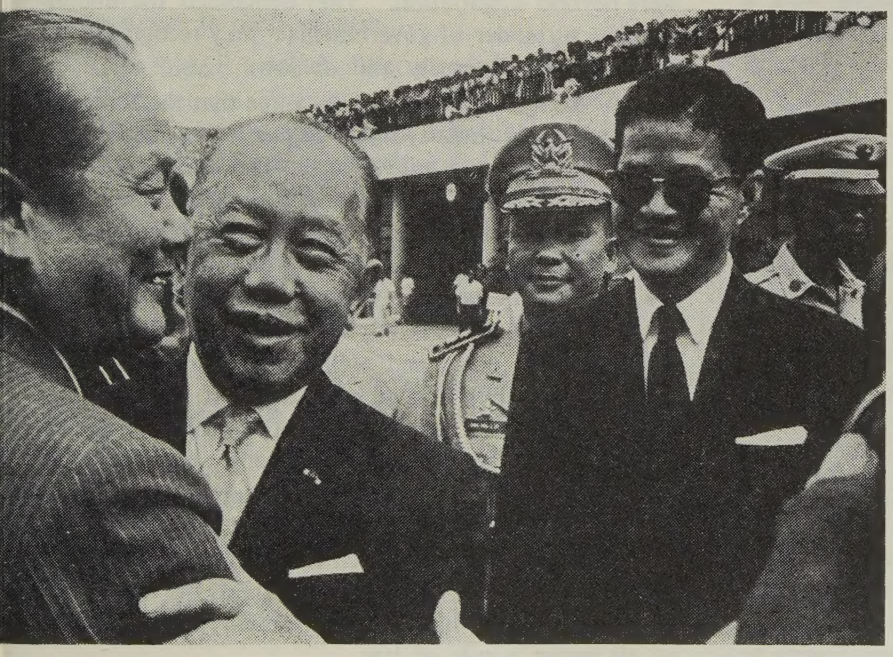
Council
Meeting

LEFT: Thailand's Minister of eign Affairs, Thanat Khoman, welcomed at the conference ue by Carlos P. Romulo.



● *It was smiles all round when South Vietnamese Foreign Minister, Van Lam (left), flew into Manila ort. And Foreign Affairs Secretary Ro- was there with a welcoming handshake.*

● *New Zealand's Prime Minister, Sir Keith Holyoake, being greeted by General Vargas when he arrived at the conference site.*

● *The Australian Minister for ternal Affairs, William McMahon, and Australian Ambassador to the Philippines, Stuart (left), pictured during their cou call on President Marcos, of the Philipp*

EXTRACTS FROM THE WELCOMING ADDRESS

'We cannot and will not compromise with Communist subversion'

— President Marcos

IN his welcoming address to delegations, President Ferdinand Marcos said that the 15th Council Meeting came at a time of continuing peril in South-East Asia. He continued: "It also meets after 15 years of great experience and many changes. At the time of its founding it was not yet clear whether the young and tender countries which is was intended to protect could remain strong and viable in the face of many threats to their viability both internal and external.

"In effect, and perhaps contributing to the scepticism that grew up around SEATO" said the President, "the Organization was little more than a military umbrella to prevent the region's inundation from a domino cascade of hostile forces. The indigenous governments and peoples of the area were not expected to act vigorously in their own defence. There were those, in fact, who said that the region had, as a result, become a protectorate of the traditional great powers which formed the core of the Organization".

All this had changed. The South-East Asian peoples were alive and alert to the dangers that pressed in on them from the outside and lurked within their midst. They had not waited for SEATO to come to their rescue, nor had SEATO ever found it necessary to make use of the military solution for which it was designed.

"This, to me, is not a sign of SEATO's weakness; on the other hand, it is a sign that there is more strength in the South-East Asian than was conceded to him; there is in him an irresistible will to freedom and to self-determination that no alien force and ideology can ever overwhelm. It is this force that I wish to commend to SEATO to nurture and protect, for it is that force that is the ultimate wall against aggression", said the speaker.

SEATO must recognize in full the growing spirit of nationalism and independence in the region, and make certain needed adjustments in its mission in order to take changed circumstances into account.

"In a word", said President Marcos, "SEATO must move in the direction of making itself relevant to the rising needs of South-East Asia; otherwise, it loses its reason for being".

Today, in the entire region of Asia, there were fanatical elements that were dedicating their lives to the subversion and ruin of existing society. One could not conciliate such elements for the issues they raised were beyond negotiation. They demanded the unconditional surrender of governments; they recognized no constitutional authority and no law.

"That is why we seem to agree that the foremost and immediate threat to our respective countries now arises from internal subversion. The situation is not without its irony. The subversive elements unendingly invoke democratic rights and civil liberties behind which they take refuge for their covert attempts to overthrow the government and to subvert the Constitution from which these same liberties flow.

"We cannot and will not compromise with Communist subversion in our country. But neither shall we be easily provoked into the arbitrary abridgment of the liberties of our citizens out of fear of Communism. Some of us might be sometimes tempted to confront every Communist suspect with the naked power of the State, but such rashness is bound to be self-defeating, and against the threat of a few we should prefer the liberties of the many and the rights of all under a rule of law.

"The only meaningful kind of democracy for the masses, especially in the developing countries, is that which seeks to assure them an expanding freedom, not, only politically but also socially and economically," said the President.

POINTS FROM THE OPENING STATEMENTS BY HEADS OF DELEGATIONS

Thanat Khoman, Minister of Foreign Affairs

"...From the international viewpoint, this Organization of ours has witnessed and is witnessing important changes which have not failed to cause important repercussions on its own standing and status. Nations situated in remote areas of the world have felt that their interests in this area as well as in the Organization have considerably altered, and, if anything have become marginal.

"Their attention has been shifted from South-East Asia and become concentrated on happenings closer to home. They did not, however, sever their contacts, although their participation has been reduced and continues on a selective basis, maintaining it only in non-military fields of activity. Obviously, membership in the Organization is still valuable to them, as it gives them a useful political insight in ever-changing developments in this area and also a possibility of having a say in such matters.

"It is hoped, however, that they will not draw one-sided advantages but will also reciprocate by refraining from placing impediments to the smooth functioning and, if possible, by engaging in activities benefitting the Organization.

"The above fact has prevented a complete disintegration of SEATO and has provided a binding which keeps the Organization, at least in appearance, intact.

"On the other hand, relentless Communist pressure in various parts of South-East Asia, in Vietnam, Laos and now in Cambodia, serves as a reminder that the danger of expansion from those aggressive quarters has by no means disappeared. In its short span of life, SEATO is now witnessing the third crisis now emerging in Cambodia, after those which have occurred in Laos and Vietnam in the early 1960 and which are still continuing until the present days. What this Organization can or cannot do to discharge its functions will be the object of close scrutiny by the millions of people of this region.

"In the meantime, thanks to the effective intervention of United States and South Vietnamese forces, the Cambodian situation was prevented from escalating into a major crisis. Only those who lack good faith or are bent upon exploiting the Cambodian affairs for their selfish political gains would fail to recognize that the timely initiatives of the two countries have contributed to the efforts to lessen the tension in this part of the world and to resolve the Vietnam problem.

"Indeed, the Organization continues to face assaults from Communist as well as non-Communist sources. Although the former affect to treat SEATO as a "paper tiger" without any real effectiveness, they would prefer to see it disappear rather than having it looming on the South-East Asian horizon. More consequential, however, are the blows repeatedly dealt to it by political circles in certain Western countries...

"...Efforts continue to be made to undermine the effectiveness of the Organization and to strip it of all worthwhile meaning, leaving a structure without substance standing as an empty monument to human vicissitudes and disillusionment. Not content with their destructive onslaughts on the Organization, those aberrant circles, with unrestrained rage and fury, have

THAILAND

been harassing and persecuting loyal members, including Thailand, in the worst display of mental pollution and perversion over known to the history of mankind.

"As we meet today barely 16 years after the Manila Treaty was concluded, the pertinent question appears to be whether we came here at this time to give it a new lease of life or to preside over its liquidation. If the latter course is not yet what we have in mind, we may have to do somewhat more than join in make-believe rituals commemorating a changing faith while still unwilling to admit that profound changes have already taken place among certain of the Organization's members and in the situation in the world.

"If, on the other hand, those who seek the destruction of the 15-year-old structure really want to accomplish their aim, they should also have the courage to accept the responsibility therefor. Peace and security of the region will then have to be safeguarded by other means and other arrangements which hopefully will be based on new realities and changing facts of international life..."

Sir Keith Holyoake, Prime Minister and Foreign Minister

"...It is very fitting that this 15th Meeting of the SEATO Council should be held in the Philippines, for it was this country which saw the birth of the Manila Treaty and the Pacific Charter. Those documents, we believe, marked significant steps forward in the search for peace, security and international co-operation in the Asian and Pacific Area.

"The obligations and objectives of the Treaty are, I believe, as significant today as they were in 1954. Of course, today, as then, we are deeply concerned over the situation in Indo-China. Today, as then, countries under threat seek to build up their own capacity to resist aggression, with the support of friendly powers. Today, as then, we need to recognize that an attack on one country in this region must bear upon the fortunes and the security of all others.

"Under the Manila Treaty we are pledged to develop our individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack and subversion in any part of the region.

"We recognize that aggression against another country would endanger our own peace and safety.

"We in New Zealand, down in the South Pacific, the farthest-away country, are resolved to settle disputes, if we can, by peaceful means, in such a manner that international peace, security and justice are not endangered.

Obligations

"So in this forum, and in others to which our governments belong and individually, these obligations of the Manila Treaty should guide our countries' actions and policies.

"Here, as in other bodies, we seek international peace, security and justice. We have shown, I think, resolve and patience, and we have shown that on proper occasions we are ready to negotiate. We have shown that we threaten no other State and are prepared to work for the economic progress and the social well-being of the people in the countries of the whole area.

"For New Zealand the signing of the Manila Treaty was an historic step in the acceptance of a role in the Asian and Pacific region. Others have followed.

"It is significant that this year the Philippines is to act as host for several of the bodies with which we are associated—SEATO, the Colombo Plan, a Committee of ECAFE and the ASPAC Council. This I think is very significant. I offer my very best wishes to your very distinguished Chairman, General Romulo, in the very onerous task that he has ahead: I know that his capacity, his experience and his wisdom will guide him through.

Regional co-operation

"Let me emphasize the role the Philippines has played, and continues to play, in the development of regional co-operation and the part this range of multilateral co-operation has played in developing our relations with the Philippines, to which we in New Zealand attach very very great importance.

NEW ZEALAND

"Regional co-operation—in which our Organization was a pioneer—is the wave of the future and we need to be alive to the scope for readjusting the role of our Organization in the light of these developments, in the light of changes that come so rapidly in a rapidly changing world.

"Our meeting here, and our Organization, must be responsive to the changing mood and the changing needs of the time. At the same time we must not forget past truths, past facts, nor fail to learn new truths and recognize new facts.

"Our Organization arose to help promote the peace and the security of the South-East Asian area and the South-West Pacific area—and I want to underline the last, because we live so far away—and it is against that requirement that we should continue to test the activities, the objectives, the aims of SEATO.

"It is in this spirit that I pledge the continued readiness of the New Zealand Government to join with others in meeting the obligations of the Manila Treaty".

Khurram Khan Panni, Ambassador to the Philippines

"... The Government of Pakistan views with deep concern the continuing hostilities in South-East Asia. The situation in the region has further deteriorated since the Council met last. We earnestly hope that the tragic conflicts will soon come to an end, thereby enabling the war-afflicted people of this region to live a happy, prosperous and peaceful life.

"It is the firm belief of the Government of Pakistan that the conflicts in Indo-China cannot be resolved by military means and that a lasting peace can only be achieved by a political settlement between the parties directly involved and vitally concerned.

PAKISTAN

"We also believe that the peoples of this region should have the opportunity to exercise their right of self-determination to decide their political future without any outside intervention, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter..."

Tran Van Lam, Foreign Minister, (Observer)

"... Our region has recently been troubled by developments of utmost gravity. Large-scale warfare spreading to Laos and Cambodia leaves no doubt to the intentions of the North Vietnamese Communists and their accomplices in the Communist bloc: they contemplate the conquest by force not only of South Vietnam, but of the whole Indo-Chinese peninsula as well. And, of course, there is no saying that their ambition will be limited to that objective either, for old fires of armed subversion are being rekindled at this very moment on the peripheral area.

Timely intervention

"In Cambodia the Communist aggression and invasion was performed in the most blatant and the crudest fashion, in total defiance of international law. Only a swift military counter-move by the allies prevented the aggressors from gaining total control over their new victim.

"This was a clear-cut case where only timely military intervention could stop the Communist unlawful application of brute force. And I humbly submit that this is a very urgent matter for this Assembly to consider, since all three initial Protocol States of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization are now openly and directly attacked by the same aggressor.

"I firmly believe that the Council cannot let the Communists challenge the essential purpose of this Treaty impunely and continuously.

"The non-military efforts of SEATO, on the other hand, have produced very encouraging results. Economic and social progress among the Asian mem-

VIETNAM

bers of the Organization has been significant. In the long run, adequate economic development and social justice will provide the ultimate weapons against the expansion of Communism. In the immediate, however, the cause of freedom is greatly imperilled unless nations in the region unite to resist aggression.

"We are here to reaffirm the faith of our government and people in the Alliance and to participate in what we believe to be one of mankind's most stimulating and co-operative ventures. We are looking for the time when SEATO, so far considered as a strong Organization for the defence of democracy and freedom, will be one of no less importance in promoting the betterment of human conditions for fuller enjoyment of a civilized life in freedom, peace and prosperity".

Anthony Royle, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs

"...The whole world knows how important it is to find solutions in South-East Asia and I think that our interest in the area and in the South-East Asia Treaty Organization is well-known to you all.

The leaders of my party have on a number of past occasions expressed their intention to reopen the question of a British military presence in South-East Asia, when we became the government, in consultation with our Commonwealth friends. The Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary has authorized me to reaffirm that it is our intention to consult as soon as possible with our Commonwealth partners about our proposal to maintain a military presence in the Malaysia-Singapore area after 1971 as part of a Commonwealth Force so long as this is in accordance with the wishes of our friends in the area.

"We believe that this will provide tangible evidence of our interest and thereby contribute to the stability and security of the area. As you will understand, I am unable at this early stage in the life of the new government to make any detailed statement of what we shall do but we will of course keep our SEATO allies informed of what we and our Commonwealth partners decide.

"In my view, assistance in maintaining the stability and freedom from threat of countries in this region, or in any region, does not depend only on military assistance and defence planning, although this, of course, is very important. The dangers to peace, stability and to the well-being of peoples come not only from overt military threats but also from subtler insidious forms of aggression or subversion to which economic difficulties can give rise.

"The British Government is aware of the vital need to help in any way possible to counter threats wherever they may occur in the countries throughout this area. We shall look at the needs and then give as much aid as we can. We must identify where assistance can be most effective in countering the subversive threats to peace and stability.

"SEATO as a multi-lateral Organization bringing together free nations of South-East Asia with their Western allies is specially fitted, in our opinion, to undertake this task.

"I am therefore glad to learn that analysis and re-arrangement of SEATO's non-military work was prominent among last year's tasks. This has been carried out in a way which will permit the resources of the Organization to be more effectively used to counter subversion.

"Britain is assisting in specialist studies and we have contributed skilled and experienced staff. We will continue to help to develop this work. SEATO is showing that co-operation between nations towards common needs is a force for good. That may sound a platitude, but it is not. The last year has seen a widening of the scope of regional co-operation in so many fields. This is as it should be and the new Government in Great Britain welcomes it.

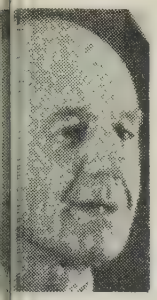
"But the situation in the area is not such that we can relax our efforts. The most dramatic event since the Council met last year has been the extension of the war to Cambodia. Fighting is now taking place in all three of the countries of Indo-China, bringing

great suffering to all the people. But worse than that, it is endangering the peace and prospects of neighbouring countries in the area...

"...The British Government will play its full part in measures and efforts constructively designed to bring about a peaceful settlement. The Secretary of State, Sir Alec Douglas-Home, and I had a talk recently... with the emissaries of the Djakarta Conference power... Sir Alec and I assured these emissaries of our support.

"Under the last Conservative Government, Great Britain became co-chairman of the 1954 Geneva Conference. Sir Alec Douglas-Home presided jointly over the 1961-62 International Conference to settle the Laotian question. I know personally—I worked with him closely for many years in the Opposition—of his close personal interest in South-East Asia...

"We will search indefatigably for possible opportunities to bring the parties together in order to try to work out a peaceful solution, confident that we have the good wishes and support of other members of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization..."



William McMahon, Minister for External Affairs

"...Regrettably, we are meeting at a time when our region faces grave problems and dangers as a result of the expansion of the militant pressures from North Vietnam assisted by Communist China. In recent months, North Vietnam has intensified its flagrant and open aggression against its two small neighbours, Laos and Cambodia. It is making a determined effort to destroy their independence and neutrality. There are therefore abundant reasons for renewed efforts and determination on our part to ensure a peaceful future for those countries.

"In working towards that end, we should keep in mind the old Philippine custom of "*bayanihan*". This word, as I understand it, expresses the concept that all the people of an area should realize that their common interests are best served by co-operating amongs themselves and helping each other whenever the need arises.

"Embracing as it does a spirit of neighbourly co-operation and mutual self-help, "*bayanihan*" is a concept particularly suited to the ideals and policies of SEATO. If this were a perfect world where all countries abided by the Principles of the United Nations Charter, there would be no need for SEATO. Unfortunately we do not live in such a world. In any realistic view, the need for an institution like SEATO is essential if our freedom is to be preserved...

"...Most of us here today are aware that the United Kingdom, Australia and New Zealand have been co-operating with Malaysia and Singapore in their defence, thereby contributing to the security and stability of the region as a whole. We welcome what has been said by the British Minister and once again we will look forward to a joint contribution, a British Commonwealth contribution, to the security and peace of the area.

"Already New Zealand and Australia have forces stationed there. We are willing to discuss with the United Kingdom Government the continuation of a Commonwealth agreement which will permit the three of us to keep forces stationed there for an indefinite period...

"Many of us also have separate Treaty relationships with the United States. For this reason, we welcome the Nixon Doctrine with its reaffirmation of United States determination to fulfil its Treaty commitments, and its assurance that the United States will provide a nuclear shield if a nuclear nation threatens the freedom of a nation allied with the United States...

"You will all be aware of the efforts made by a number of regional countries to work towards a peaceful solution of the present conflict in Cambodia. The Philippines, Thailand, Australia and New Zealand attended the Djakarta meeting, which was designed to achieve the independence and neutrality of Cambodia.

"Its sole objective was to help that country to be free and neutral. The initiative was Indonesia's. Other countries, including Thailand, also gave public expression to the desire of so many of us for diplomatic action. A crisis involving Cambodia was and is directly threatening the peace and stability of South-East Asia and indirectly of the whole world.

"Yet those on whom the Charter of the United Nations lays primary responsibility for the maintenance

of peace, the Permanent Members of the Security Council, were unable or unwilling to help under circumstances clearly covered by the Charter itself. The Djakarta Conference was the regional response to this situation.

"This peace initiative does not conflict with our membership and obligations under SEATO. On the contrary, it is entirely consistent with Article I of the SEATO Treaty. What we decided to do at Djakarta was to seek a solution by peaceful means...

"To return to the military aspects of our meeting—we are saddened by the unnecessary bloodshed in South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia. We deplore the intransigence of the Communists who dogmatically refuse to enter into serious and constructive negotiations for an honourable and lasting peace in South Vietnam.

"...We do not want to dictate to the people of South Vietnam how thay should run their country: we simply want to ensure that some outsider does not dominate the Government and people of South Vietnam...

"We seek no more and no less for the people of Laos and Cambodia..."

William P. Rogers, Secretary of State

"... As we begin these important meetings, we should remind ourselves of how important a sense of security is to the lives of men and nations. Without it, liberty and prosperity becomes elusive. The nations represented here demonstrated their understanding of this simple fact when they signed the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty in Manila 15 years ago. That Treaty has provided a shield for the remarkable political and economic progress in South-East Asia during those years.

"Since our last meeting, President Nixon announced a new American policy in Asia. Let me quote his words to make clear what that policy is:

> " '*First, the United States will keep all its Treaty commitments. Secondly, we shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatens the freedom of a nation allied with us, or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security. In cases involving other types of aggression we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assume the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defence.*'

The meaning

"Now, in Asia, what does this mean? It means that we will remain a Pacific power and a member of the Pacific community. It means that we will support the efforts of our Asian friends to maintain their own sovereignty and security. It does not mean that we will turn our back on our international policies or withdraw into a shell of isolationism.

"The Nixon Doctrine relates to our relationships with all of Asia. In Indo-China, it is embodied in the policy of Vietnamization, under which the primary responsibility for ground combat is passing to our South Vietnamese allies. We are greatly encouraged by their growing self-reliance and by the effectiveness with which they have fought in the Cambodian operation.

"While our aim in Cambodia has been to protect our programmes in Vietnam, secondly we shall furnish a shield to provide the people of South Vietnam with the right to determine their own future. We sympathize with Cambodia's resistance to North Vietnamese aggression, and we will continue to supply limited military assistance.

Sensible response

"We welcome the growing spirit of co-operation between Cambodia and its neighbours—South Vietnam, Thailand and Laos—as a logical and sensible response to a common danger.

"However, we concur in the position taken by the Cambodian Government which does not favour Cambodia's military association with SEATO. Neutrality is a political condition that Cambodia's governments, both past and present, have chosen for themselves. We believe that the neutrality of Cambodia, like that

UNITED STATES

of Laos, will contribute to the stability of the area and to the prospects for peace.

"The attention of the world has been focused largely on the military aspects of the war in Indo-China. While we will take the military measures we consider necessary, as our Cambodian operation illustrated, our preference has always been—and will remain—a political settlement. The United States will continue to make every effort to achieve peace through negotiation.

"We welcome the initiatives that have been undertaken to get such talks started. In particular, we support the current efforts of the 11 Asian nations which met in Djakarta in May, four of which are represented in this room today.

"Those initiatives represent an Asian attempt to solve Asian problems. They deserve the support of the international community.

"In closing, let me again say that the United States will continue our strong support of SEATO and that our Alliance, the Alliance represented here, is of great importance to the security of the Free World".

Jose J. Roy, President pro-Tempore of the Senate

"...Sixteen years may be nothing in the life of nation, but it is something in the life of an alliance. When we recall the history of alliances and consider how many of them have died not long after the ink had dried on the parchment sheet, 16 years of existence in itself is already an achievement for our Organization.

"I believe we can take just pride that after all these years SEATO is still a living and vibrant institution and that since its establishment none of its members has been the object of direct Communist aggression.

"The fact that it has been, and continues to be, attacked and vilified by those who would like to impose Communist rule upon the free peoples of Asia, or those with some other ulterior motives, only proves that SEATO is a force to be reckoned with. To paraphrase a common saying, nobody ever kicks a dead dog...

"Since our meeting in Bangkok in the spring of 1969, several important developments have taken place that could not but cause deep concern to us. The war in Vietnam continues in unabated fury, with no indications as to when it will end. Men, women and children continue to be killed, towns and cities destroyed, agriculture and industry paralyzed.

"The talks in Paris between representatives of the United States, South Vietnam, North Vietnam and the Liberation Front to prepare hopefully the ground for the cessation of hostilities and the holding of a peace conference have all but broken off without accomplishing anything except to agree on the table and seating arrangement,

"The Allied Powers offered and made it abundantly clear that they were prepared to hold negotiations for a peaceful settlement of the war even with no pre-conditions at all, but the other side has shown nothing but utter contempt for such offer.

"In Cambodia, the regime of Prince Sihanouk was overthrown and a new government under General Lon Nol has taken over. Fighting is going on between the forces of the new government and those seeking to reinstate Prince Sihanouk, supported by their respective allies. Moreover, the Lon Nol Government has sanctioned the intervention of the United States and the Republic of Vietnam to deny to Hanoi and the Vietcong the sanctuaries they have been enjoying in Cambodia under Prince Sihanouk.

"In Laos, where, one might say, there has really been no peace since its establishment as an independent and sovereign State under the Geneva Accords of 1954, and its enforced neutrality under the Geneva Agreement of 1962, we see today an escalation of the struggle between the forces loyal to the government and those seeking to impose Communist rule. Perhaps never since 1954 has the Royal Government of Laos been placed in greater jeopardy than at the present time.

"Here in the Philippines and in other countries in our region, like Thailand and Malaysia, there is a resurgence of Communist activities, no doubt supported and encouraged from the outside. What is disturbing to us is that some of our youth activists engaged in seeking redress of their grievances through public demonstrations, have allowed themselves, wittingly or

unwittingly, to be used by Communist elements.

"We are all aware of the decision of the previous United Kingdom Government to withdraw east of Suez completely by 1971. I am glad to hear from the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom that there may be a reversal of that policy. We are also aware of a similar decision of the United States to reduce her forces in Vietnam and not to commit her soldiers any more to Vietnam-type wars in Asia.

"We are, of course, heartened by the statement of the Nixon policy in this part of the world...

"In more than one sense, this would therefore seem to be the most crucial meeting of SEATO since its establishment in 1954. Up to now SEATO has protected us from direct Communist aggression and I think we can take just pride in this fact.

"But what of tomorrow, what of next year and of the year after? I believe that this is the question to which we should address ourselves during this meeting because our people and, I am sure, the peoples of the other member countries, are anxiously waiting for our answer."

Call for a united front against Communist subversion

● **The following are extracts from the opening statement made to the 15th Council Meeting by SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas...**

"...Never, in this perennially sensitive region, has there been so much strife and tension and, therefore, never has so much suffering visited so many peace-loving peoples for so long. At no other point in time have the powerful protagonists in the continuing ideological conflict been so gravely pitted against one another in so direct and potentially crippling a confrontation. Never has there been so universal a clamour for peace and, ironically, never have the chances of attaining it seemed so dim and nebulous.

"The whole gamut of Asia's security problems is such that the difficulties attending their solution proceed mainly from two basic well-recognized but little-appreciated, postulates.

"First, resources channelled by developing countries towards defence are perforce resources removed from programmes for development. Yet, it is equally axiomatic that the chances for progress are greatest where relative security has been attained and ensured. Those countries have thus to strike a suitable and often uneasy balance between the two exacting requirements.

"Second, free Asians have in all these years, failed to present a united front against the current dominant threat to their security, namely, Communist subversion and insurgency. This is due to an undue adherence to and, to my mind, an erroneous application of the principle that, because of the fundamentally political nature of the problems of subversion and insurgency, combatting them is the responsibility of the individual governments concerned.

"This is a situation clearly in the interests of the Communists, who have exploited it in full measure. I dare say, in fact, that this fundamental postulate may well have been the one factor that has abetted Communist subversion the most in this region in the past decade or so.

"Thus, in Asia, free countries have acted largely on their own and have so far been left to their individual resources and devices in countering the overriding threat to the peace of the Treaty Area. As a result, the threat has been met, at best, with only token and haphazard counter-measures.

"I submit that no country in Asia today which is faced with the problem of Communist subversion and insurgency can possibly cope with it with reasonable success, unaided by other countries. I submit that by accepting outside assistance based on definite expertise in this vital field of endeavour, a free and sovereign State does not necessarily compromise, let alone surrender, her sovereignty in any form or to any degree.

"I submit that, on the contrary, a free nation stands a greater chance of ensuring its free nationhood if it avails itself of sincere and appropriate forms of assistance from its friends and allies. I submit that such an action on the part of a threatened country does not necessarily trunsfer primary responsibility for countering subversion to the aiding govvernment.

"In suggesting a united front against Communist subversion and insurgency, I do so in full cognizance of the fact that, from all indications, the Chinese Communists will in the foreseeable future continue to maintain their intransigence, to exhort the free peoples of the area to overthrow their legally-constituted governments, and to give encouragement and active support to so-called 'Wars of National Liberation' in the region.

"I do so firm in the conviction that the widespread nature and the magnitude of the threat demand precisely a co-ordinated and vigorous counter-action. I do so, also, unshakable in the view that unless the free countries of Asia act in concert with one another in an activity so vital to their very existence, they will forever be supinely at the mercy of the Communists.

"I do so, likewise, unwavering in the belief that, in the face of so persistent and so real a threat, token or dissipated counter-measures are hardly of any moment...

"SEATO recognizes its responsibilities in the crucial issues attending the delicate situation in South-East Asia. I have no doubt that from this meeting will ensue a greater determination and a strengthened resolution to meet our responsibilities..."

COMMUNIQUE

● The following is the full text of the Final Communique issued at the conclusion of the 15th SEATO Council Meeting held in Manila in July...

THE Council of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization held its 15th Meeting in Manila from July 2 to 3, 1970, under the Chairmanship of His Excellency General Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of the Philippines.

All member governments, except France, participated. The Republic of Vietnam, a Protocol State, was represented by an observer.

The Council took note of the significant developments that had taken place in South-East Asia since it last met—the rapidly growing strength and self-reliance of the Republic of Vietnam, the unusually sharp dry season offensive of North Vietnam against Laos, the recently-increased aggression against Cambodia by North Vietnam and the Viet-Cong and the many efforts by States of South-East Asia and by others to bring about negotiations for a political solution to the problems of Indo-China.

The Council also noted that encouraging economic and social progress had continued during the past year within the Treaty area. The Council agreed that this progress was facilitated by the growing spirit of regional co-operation among the nations of the area and by their determination to promote the economic and social welfare of their people and to foster individual liberty. The Council believed that much of this economic, political and social advance would not have been possible without the shield which the Manila Treaty has helped to provide since 1954. The Council expressed its resolve to maintain the SEATO deterrent so that this advance could continue.

The Council noted that overt military aggression against South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia was accompanied by other forms of aggression—subversion, externally-instigated insurgency, infiltration and terrorism—which continued to be a serious threat to peace and security in the area. The Council confirmed its intention to keep this situation under review and expressed its support for the co-operative efforts of States in the area to meet the threat.

The Council noted President Nixon's important formulation of United States policy in Asia, in the terms of the "Nixon Doctrine". The Council considered this to be fully in accord with the spirit and terms of the Manila Treaty.

The Search for Peace

The Council observed that numerous new efforts have been made to bring about consultations and negotiations to achieve a peaceful solution to the conflicts in the Indo-China area and thus permit each State to live in peace and to choose its own way of life. It expressed concern that North Vietnam had not responded constructively to any of these initiatives and expressed the hope that this attitude would change. It noted that negotiations could be undertaken either through a general conference on Indo-China as a whole or through separate negotiations such as those in Paris on Vietnam.

The Council took note, in particular, of the following initiatives aimed at a political settlement, all of which were welcomed by SEATO members:

(a) the repeated affirmations by the United States and the Republic of Vietnam in Paris of the principles of total withdrawal of all non-South Vietnamese troops and of a political solution reflecting the will of all the South Vietnamese people,

(b) the appeal of the Prime Minister of Laos to the Co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference for consultations in accordance with Article IV of the Declaration on the Neutrality of Laos,

(c) the proposal of the President of the United States in support of the Laotian appeal for consultations among signatory powers as called for under the Geneva Agreements of 1962;

(d) the suggestion by the Government of France for wider negotiations on the problems of Indo-China;

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(e) the suggestion by the Prime Minister of New Zealand for an international conference, at which all parties concerned could be represented, to work out the outlines of a regional settlement;

(f) the British Co-Chairman's May proposal to the Soviet Co-Chairman for the reconvening of the Geneva Conference;

(g) the proposal of the Secretary-General of the United Nations for an international conference on Indo-China;

(h) the call by the Djakarta Conference of Asian and Pacific countries for immediate cessation of hostilities, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cambodia, the reactivation of the International Control Commission for Cambodia, and the convening of an international conference on Indo-China.

Vietnam

The Council reaffirmed its admiration for the courage with which the Government and people of the Republic of Vietnam have defended their freedom and reiterated its concern and sympathy for the suffering so long endured by the Vietnamese people. The Council noted the continuing progress being made by the armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam in improving their capability to counter armed aggression and subversive activity, and warmly welcomed the determined efforts of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam progressively to assume responsibility for the defence of its territory.

The Council also heard reports by members concerning allied troops in South Vietnam and some redeployments within the framework of plans for South Vietnamese forces to assume the ground combat responsibility within the next year. It welcomed the continuing progress made by the Republic of Vietnam in the political, economic and social fields. The Council agreed that in the absence of a negotiated settlement these developments offered the best chance of bringing about a de-escalation of the war, the achievement of a greater measure of stability, and the maintenance of the Republic of Vietnam's right and capability to determine its own future.

The Council expressed its profound regret that the continued efforts of the Republic of Vietnam and the United States to negotiate a peaceful solution had so far yielded no substantive results. It took note of the flexibility of the proposals put forward by the United States and the Republic of Vietnam and expressed the hope that North Vietnam would show a similar willingness to achieve a peaceful settlement.

The Council took note, however, that North Vietnams' military aggression against South Vietnam was continuing and that it had recently been marked by a new wave of terrorism, murder of civilians, and efforts to disrupt the pacification programme. The Council noted with regret that this aggression is sustained by a heavy flow of weapons and supplies from other Communist regimes.

The Council noted with appreciation the continuing military, economic and humanitarian assistance furnished by member countries during the past year to the Republic of Vietnam. The Council also noted with appreciation the countinued assistance rendered by other countries which are not members of SEATO, including substantial military assistance from the Republic of Korea.

Laos

The Council noted with grave concern that North Vietnam, in open violation of the 1962 Geneva Agreements, continues to maintain military forces in Laos (including large units of its regular Army), to commit armed attacks on the forces of the Royal Government of Laos, to use Lao territory to infiltrate troops and supplies into South Vietnam and Cambodia and to suppport externally-instigated insurgency in Thailand.

The Council viewed as particularly serious the recent heavy attacks against Laos by North Vietnam and its refusal so far to co-operate in consultations to which it is committed under those Agreements. The Council reiterated its call for full implementation by all signatories of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos and expressed support for the efforts of the Royal Lao Government to secure peace and to preserve the sovereignty, independence, neutrality, unity and territorial integrity of Laos.

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COMMUNIQUE

Cambodia

In the light of the magnitude of the changes that had taken place in Cambodia since its last meeting, the Council reviewed the situation there with special attention. The Council affirmed its support of the sovereignty, independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of Cambodia within its present borders, and declared that it would honour and respect the Cambodian Government's desire to remain neutral. It expressed the conviction that Cambodia's desire for neutrality must be the basis of a settlement and noted that, while North Vietnam professed respect for that neutrality, it had for years violated Cambodian territory and neutrality.

The Council concluded that the recent operations against Vietnamese Communist military facilities in eastern Cambodia had been successful in relieving military pressures against the Republic of Vietnam and would contribute to the realization of the troop replacement programme in Vietnam. The Council condemned North Vietnamese military attacks against Cambodia and expressed understanding of Cambodia's appeal for help in resisting North Vietnam's attempt to dominate it.

While noting that Cambodia had no choice but to resist the use of force with force, the Council agreed that the cause of peace in South-East Asia could best be furthered by encouraging a political solution based on Cambodia's desire to maintain its sovereignty and neutrality. The Council accordingly applauded the efforts of many nations to bring about a diplomatic solution and withdrawal of all foreign troops.

It expressed the hope that a solution to the problems of Cambodia would lead to a more general settlement in South-East Asia. Council members expressed their readiness to lend all possible assistance to diplomatic efforts to achieve an international solution.

Philippines

The Council noted with satisfaction the continued efforts of the Government of the Philippines to combat Communist subversion and insurgency, especially in Central Luzon. It also commended the progress achieved by the Philippine Government in the implementation of an integrated socio-economic programme designed to raise the standard of living and eliminate the primary cause of unrest among the people.

Thailand

The Council noted with appreciation the Royal Thai Government's continued contribution towards the defence of the Republic of Vietnam and its friendly co-operation with Cambodia.

The Council was gratified by the continuing success of the Royal Thai Government and people in their efforts to accelerate economic and social development at all levels of society and by their firm resolve to counter Communist subversion and insurgent activities directed from outside.

Counter-subversion

The Council again affirmed support for SEATO activities designed to aid member countries in the Treaty area to counter externally-instigated subversion and insurgency. It took note of the steps taken to develop at SEATO Headquarters an Office for Counter-subversion and Counter-insurgency better able to assist member governments with advice in this field.

Military Co-operation

The Council noted the Report of the Military Advisers and commended the excellent work done by the Military Planning Office in keeping plans up to date and in designing military exercises from which valuable experience was gained.

Five-Power Defence

The Council welcomed the United Kingdom Government's proposal to maintain a British military presence in the Malaysia-Singapore area as part of a Commonwealth force, subject to the wishes of the countries concerned. It further noted that consultations with those Commonwealth governments directly involved would take place as soon as possible.

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COMMUNIQUE

Economic, Cultural and Social Co-operation

The Council reaffirmed the importance of SEATO economic aid activities in helping to create a better life for the peoples of South-East Asia. It also reaffirmed that these activities should be complementary to counter-subversion, counter-insurgency and civic action programmes. The Council further welcomed the fact that member countries are taking advantage of opportunities to provide aid to regional members bilaterally under the SEATO label.

Other matters

The Council accepted with pleasure the invitation of the United Kingdom Government to hold the 16th Council Meeting in London in 1971.

The Pakistan delegate wished it to be recorded that he did not participate in the drafting of the Communique.

The Council expressed its gratitude to the Government and people of the Republic of the Philippines for their generous hospitality and warm welcome and its appreciation for the excellent arrangements made for the Meeting.

The leaders of the delegations to the 15th Council Meeting were:

Australia-Right Hon. William McMahon, Minister for External Affairs; **New Zealand**-Right Hon. Sir Keith Holyoake, G.C.M.G., C.H., M.P., Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs; **Pakistan**-H.E. Mr. Khurram Khan Panni, Ambassador to the Philippines; **Philippines**-H.E. General Carlos P. Romulo, Secretary of Foreign Affairs; **Thailand**-H.E. Mr. Thanat Khoman, Minister of Foreign Affairs; **United Kingdom**-Mr. Anthony Royle, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Foreign and Commonwealth Office; **United States**-Hon. William P. Rogers, Secretary of State; **Republic of Vietnam** (Observer)-H.E. Mr. Tran Van Lam, Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Delegates relax after the talks

SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas with some of the guests at his party for delegates to SEATO's 15th Council Meeting. Left to right are: General Vargas, Khurram Khan Panni, Pakistan's Ambassador to the Philippines, Carlos P. Romulo, the Philippines Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. McMahon, Australia's Minister for External Affairs.

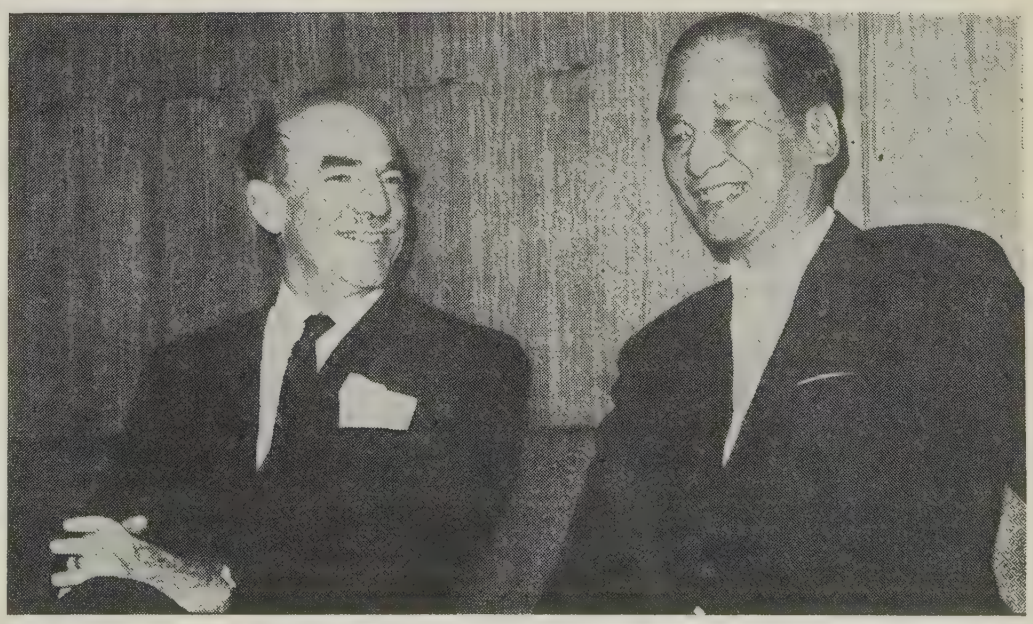
COURTESY CALL

MR. Salvador P. Neric, a post-graduate scholar under the 1967-68 SEATO Cultural Programme, paid a courtesy call on SEATO Deputy Secretary-General Robert Hyslop before returning to the Philippines on completing his Master's Degree in Animal Science at Kasetsart University, Thailand.

Formerly an instructor at the Central Luzon State University, Mr. Neric has been a SEATO scholar since June, 1968. Mr. Neric (centre) is pictured with Mr. Hyslop (right) and SEATO Cultural Affairs Officer, Mr. Jean-Marc Montguerre.

● **The Australian Minister for Air, Mr. Drake-Brockman, visited the South-East Asia Treaty Organization Headquarters in Bangkok in July. He was given briefings on the civil and military aspects of SEATO's work. Here Lt. Col. R.K.G. Porter, Royal New Zealand Artillery (centre), introduces the Minister to Commander David Thomson, Royal Australian Navy, from Sydney, who gave the military briefing.**

Mr. Youzo Kata, a former Administrative Vice-Minister of the Japanese Defence Agency who is now a Member of the Japanese Diet (Parliament), visited SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok, recently during a tour of South-East Asia to study regional defence arrangements. Here he talks to Deputy Secretary-General Robert Hyslop (left) before receiving briefings and holding discussions on the role and activities of the Organization.



CAMBODIA:

China the real culprit, says Vargas

NORTH Vietnam's intransigent aggression in the three former Indo-Chinese States of Cambodia, Laos and South Vietnam was the Free World's greatest problem in Asia, SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas told the Rotary Club of Bangkok at a June luncheon meeting.

And he identified Peking and "its expansionist policies" as the main source of assistance and encouragement to Hanoi in its aggression.

"In fact," he added, "I dare say that Communist China is the principal motivating force of Communist subversion and insurgency throughout South-East Asia."

Peking's long-standing encouragement of dissidence, its propaganda exploitation of local grievances and its support of so-called "Wars of National Liberation" had continued unabated.

Communist China had eagerly seized upon recent events in Indo-China to extend the area in which these tactics might be employed. General Vargas referred to China's enthusiastic support of Prince Sihanouk's National United Front of Kampuchea, the leading role it had played in the formulation of the front's political programme, and its recent sponsoring of the "Summit Conference of Indo-Chinese Peoples."

All the indications were that Sihanouk had cast his lot irrevocably with the Communists, "obviously in the hope that they will assist his return to power". It was unfortunate that he had elected to lend his name and former title to give a semblance of legitimacy to the Communist bid for the establishment of a pro-Communist regime in Cambodia.

It was generally conceded that a truly neutral Cambodia

● *SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas pictured delivering his address to Bangkok Rotary Club. Mr. Norman Miller, Rotary Club President, is seated next to Gen. Vargas.*

was inimical to the interests of the Communists in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. "If, with the assistance of its American, South Vietnamese and other allies, the new Cambodian regime succeeds in divesting the North Vietnamese and the Vietcong of their sanctuaries and supply bases in Cambodia, the effect in respect not only of the Vietnam conflict but of the entire Indo-Chinese imbroglio will be tremendous...

"It is my unshakable conviction that if the United States had withheld direct military intervention in Cambodia much longer, it may well have meant the irreversible forfeiture of all prospects of victory against the Communists in the entire Peninsula," said General Vargas.

While everyone would welcome any initiative in the direction of a world-wide peace, General Vargas cautioned, against over-confidence in a *detente* with the Communists as an insurance for peace—"the cruel fate of Czechoslovakia shattered all that wishful thinking about a *detente* and its benefits...."

EDWARD HEATH

BRITAIN's NEW LEADER

MR. Edward Heath, who became Britain's Prime Minister following his Conservative Party's victory in the British General Election on June 18, held various appointments in the Conservative governments between 1951 and 1964, including service within the Foreign Office. A member of Parliament since 1950, Mr. Heath received his first government appointment in 1951 when he became Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, or Government Whip.

The following year he became Joint Deputy Chief Whip, and served as Deputy Chief Whip from June, 1953. In December, 1955, he received the ministerial appointment which carried with it the duties of Government Chief Whip in the House of Commons, as Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, and at the same time was created a Privy Councillor.

In October, 1959, Mr. Heath became Minister of Labour; in July, 1960, he was appointed Lord Privy Seal. He spoke on Foreign Office matters in the House of Commons—the then Foreign Secretary being a member of the Upper House—and served within the Foreign Office, being specially concerned with European affairs.

At the time of Britain's application to join the Common Market he was in charge of the negotiations on Britain's behalf. Although the negotiations broke down, Mr. Heath's work was the subject of widespread tributes at home and overseas, and was recognised by the award of the Charlemagne Prize of the City of Aachen, made annually for "the most notable achievement in the service of encouraging international understanding and co-operation in Europe."

Later, Mr. Heath attended the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe and the signing in Moscow of the partial test-ban treaty between Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union. As Secretary of State for Industry, Trade and Development and President of the Board of Trade he led the British delegation to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) meeting at Geneva in May, 1954, and attended the UN conference on world trade.

● MR. HEATH.. Takes over from Mr. Wilson.

After the change of government in 1964, Mr. Heath became a member of the Consultative Committee of the Leader of the Opposition, his responsibilities being, at first, leading for his party on economic affairs and, as chairman of the Conservative Party's policy committee, of planning future policy. From February, 1965, he had responsibilities for Treasury affairs, economic matters, and co-ordination in the field of home affairs.

Mr. Heath's major recreations are sailing and music. For some years he has been a keen yachtsman, and in December, 1969, he and his crew won the classic Sydney-Hobart Race.

Sir Alec Appointed F.M.

SIR Alec Douglas-Home (pictured right) was named as Foreign Secretary in Mr. Heath's Cabinet. Sir Alec was Prime Minister of Britain from October, 1963, until the change of government a year later. He became thereafter Leader of the Conservative Party and of the Opposition in Parliament until July, 1965, when he resigned, becoming a member of the Consultative Committee (sometimes called the Shadow Cabinet) of his successor, Mr. Edward Heath.

'TENSE SITUATION' WORRIES ASPAC MINISTERS

MINISTERS attending the 5th Ministerial Meeting of the Asian and Pacific Council (ASPAC) expressed their "concern and apprehension" over the tense situation in the region. In a joint communique issued after their June meeting in Wellington, New Zealand, the Ministers stated that the stepping up of hostilities was also threatening to disturb world peace and security.

The talks were attended by Ministers from Australia, the Republic of China, Japan, the Republic of Korea, Malaysia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Thailand, the Republic of Vietnam and an observer from Laos.

The Ministers reaffirmed their belief that the primary responsibility for dealing with the problems of the Asian and Pacific area lay with the countries of the region. They expressed the willingness of their governments to join with other governments and associations in the area in seeking ways and means of reducing tension and promoting stability and peaceful development.

This would help promote a growing consensus among the nations of the region "which would transcend differences of outlook and encourage new and promising initiatives".

The Ministers considered that the Djakarta Conference on Cambodia was a significant example of how the countries of the region could work together in an endeavour to restore peace to an area of immediate concern to them. They hoped that the process of consultation adopted by the Djakarta Conference would help bring about a peaceful settlement in Cambodia and stimulate further initiatives towards solving some of the outstanding problems of the region.

The Ministers regretted that atmospheric tests of nuclear weapons continued to be held in the Asian and Pacific region despite the Partial Test Ban Treaty and the protests repeatedly made by ASPAC countries.

The Ministers formally approved a draft agreement for the establishment of an Economic Co-operation Centre for the Asian and Pacific Region in Bangkok. The purpose of the centre is to promote closer economic relations among, and accelerate economic development in, member countries.

Appreciation was expressed at the proposal of the Philippine Government for an ASPAC Youth Volunteer Programme. The proposal, which was referred to the Standing Committee for detailed consideration, is aimed at mobilizing the youth of Asia for volunteer work on community development and similar projects.

It was agreed that the 6th Ministerial Meeting should be in Manila in 1971.

DEATH OF SUKARNO

DR. Sukarno, who died on June 21 at the age of 69, became Indonesia's first President when independence was proclaimed in 1945.

In 1963 he was made Life Chief of State, but in July, 1966, was stripped of this title by the People's Consultative Congress, the policy-making organisation.

In March, 1966, the President signed over his political power to Gen. Suharto, the Army Commander.

His political eclipse followed a Communist coup attempt in 1965 in which many people died.

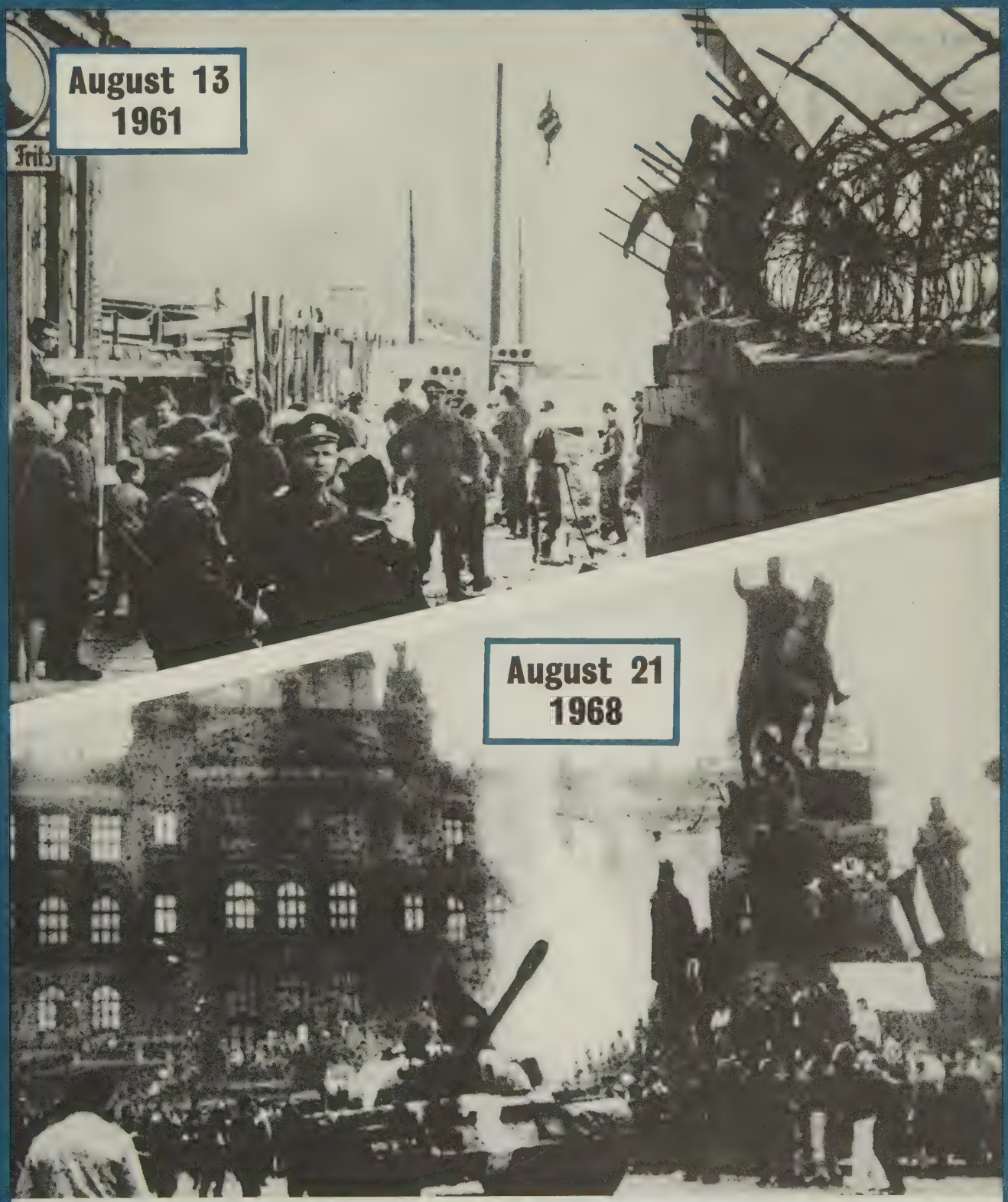
In February, 1967, he signed a document transferring full powers to Gen. Suharto, and his rule, which he described as "guided democracy," ended.

Dr. Sukarno was a leading advocate of the concept of a "third world" bloc of uncommitted nations.

He was one of the nationalist leaders who rose to power after the 1939-45 war.

He was born in Surabaya, East Java, the son of a Javanese teacher and a Balinese dancer.

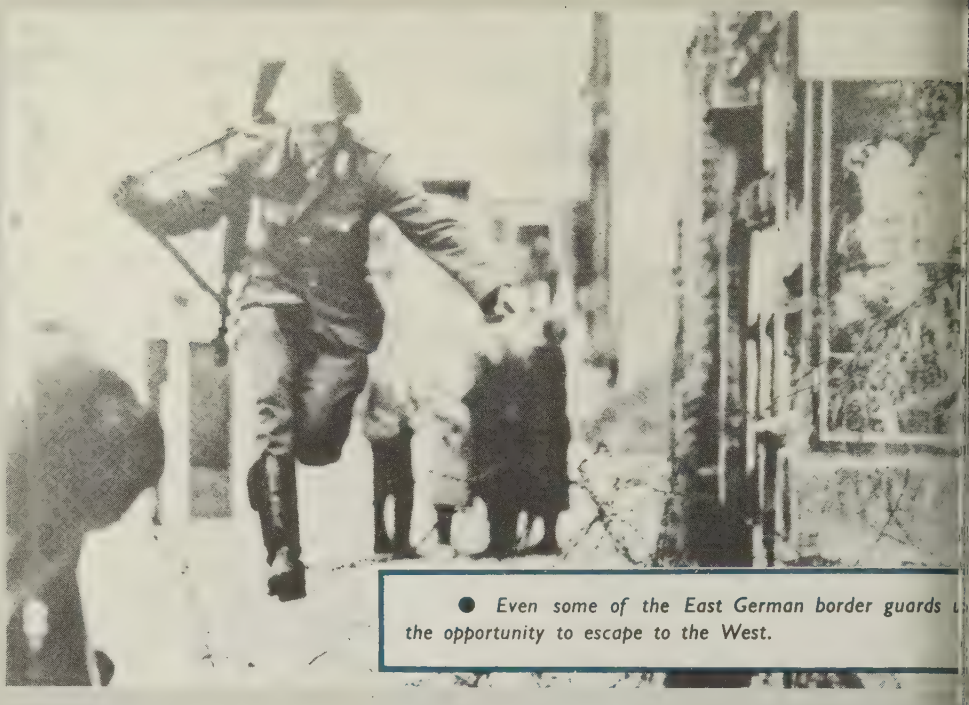
DATES TO REMEMBER



- **AUGUST 13, 1961 — The East German Communists started building the Berlin Wall.**
- **AUGUST 21, 1968 — Russian tanks entered Prague to herald the invasion of Czechoslovakia.**

The Wall

SOME GET AWAY...



● *Even some of the East German border guards u the opportunity to escape to the West.*

IN 1945 Greater Berlin came under the joint control of the British, French, Americans and Russians. Twelve boroughs became the Western sectors, putting $2\frac{1}{4}$ million people on 188 square miles. That was West Berlin. There were eight boroughs in the Soviet sector, in which 1,100,000 people were placed on 144 square miles—or East Berlin

But it remained one city with more than half a million people crossing the internal boundaries every day.

On August 13, 1961, the East German Communists—under the guidance of the Soviet Communists—started building a wall across the face of the city. If your parents lived on one side and you on the other, you could not visit them; if your home lay one side and your factory or office on the other, you could not go to work. In some instances, the Wall cut right through the middle of houses or gardens.

In November, 1961, the East German Communist leader, Walter Ulbricht, told the East German Communist Party's Central Committee that the Wall made it easier to deal with the people who dared to criticise his regime and his methods.

From the Soviet Zone of Germany and East Berlin hundreds of thousands of persons escaped into West Germany, and in particular to West Berlin, up to the building of the Wall. These are the official statistics of refugees—

1950	197,788	1956	279,189
1951	165,648	1957	261,622
1952	182,393	1958	204,092
1953	331,390	1959	143,917
1954	184,198	1960	199,188
1955	252,870	1961	207,026

But even after August 13, 1961, the Communists' Wall couldn't stop them coming. During the first two and half years of the existence of the Wall, some 17,000 East Germans risked their lives to escape across the Wall and the fortified interzonal borders. Over 70 died in the attempt.

The official figures on the number of refugees from East Germany and East Berlin arriving in the Federal German Republic since 1961 are—

1962	21,356	1966	24,131
1963	42,632	1967	19,573
1964	41,876	1968	16,036
1965	29,552		

They fled despite the fact that the East German Minister of the Interior had ordered that "fleeing refugees are to be shot dead and not merely fired at" by Communist frontier guards.

...OTHERS DON'T

● *But Many East Germans do not get away. Peter Fechter, only 18, was shot down by the Co munists as he tried to escape.*

The Invasion

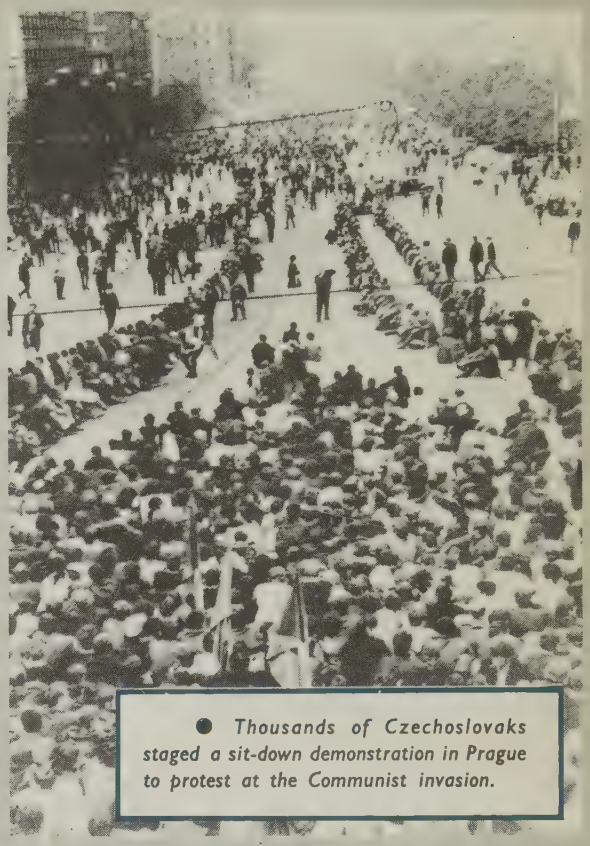
CZECHS WANTED FREEDOM

ON August 21, 1968, over 600,000 troops from Communist countries in the Soviet-dominated Warsaw Pact Alliance invaded Czechoslovakia. One of the original reasons for the invasion given by Soviet spokesmen was the need to defend the country against a possible threat from Federal Germany, yet the Communist invading troops—supported by tanks and heavy artillery—were concentrated near main towns.

In fact, the invading powers refused to tolerate the reforms being introduced by the then Czechoslovak Communist Party leader, Alexander Dubcek—reforms which aimed primarily at undoing the evils of the past and winning the support of the ruled for their rulers.

During the invasion, many Czechoslovaks who protested against the intrusion were either crushed under Soviet tanks or shot down.

Since the invasion, reformers have been removed from office; most of the freedoms granted or promised have been cancelled or curtailed; censorship has been reimposed and the activities of organizations representing workers, writers, students and others have been curbed and brought under Communist Party control.



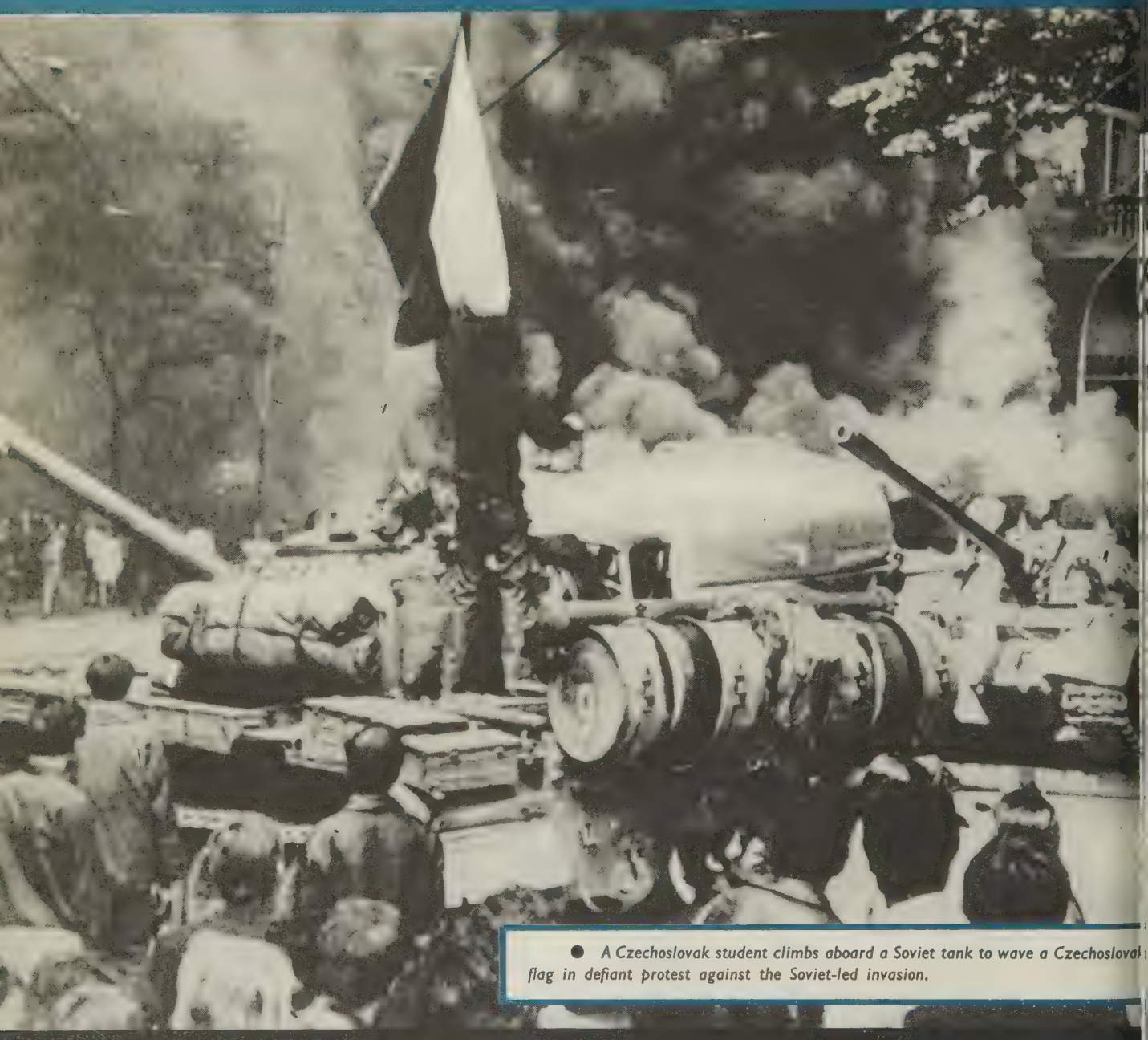
● Thousands of Czechoslovaks staged a sit-down demonstration in Prague to protest at the Communist invasion.

..BUT COMMUNISTS CRUSHED THEM WITH TANKS

● Czechoslovak students carry a bloodstained flag and the helmet of a youth run down by a Soviet tank during the invasion.

'We have never rejected terror on principle, nor can we do so'

— V.I. Lenin, (creator of the Soviet Communist Party and founder of the Soviet State).



● *A Czechoslovak student climbs aboard a Soviet tank to wave a Czechoslovak flag in defiant protest against the Soviet-led invasion.*

SEATO-

BULWARK AGAINST COMMUNISM IN SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Published by the South-East Asia Treaty Organization

DEFENCE

Health problems in S.E. Asia discussed

EXPERTS from SEATO member nations attended two medical meetings at SEATO Headquarters, Bangkok, in June.

The fourth SEATO Military Medical Committee Meeting took place from June 1-5, followed on June 8-18 by an Expert Study Group which examined health problems in SEATO regional countries.

The Chairman for the SEATO Military Medical Committee Meeting was Major General Thip Pholpoke, Assistant Surgeon General of the Royal Thai Army. Other senior delegates were: Air Vice Marshal L.R. Trudinger (Australia), Group Captain K. Bremner (New Zealand), Colonel Augusto E. Hocson (Philippines), Major General R.A. Smart (United Kingdom) and Rear Admiral F.B. Voris (United States).

Observers were Brigadier General Vu Ngoc Hoan, Surgeon General Armed Forces of the Republic of Vietnam, and Rear Admiral Samrit Jatinandina, Director General of the SEATO Medical Research Laboratory in Bangkok.

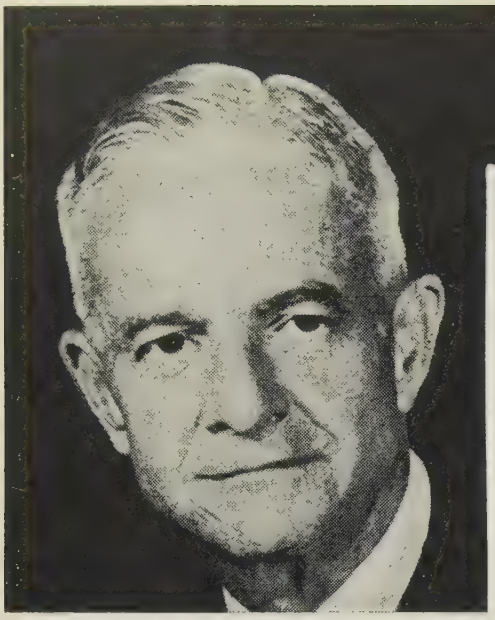
BRIEFINGS

During the conference delegates were given briefings on United States medical programmes in the Pacific and on Free World forces medical activities in Vietnam. They discussed experience gained in public health, preventive medicine, war surgery and other medical matters relative to the operation of SEATO forces in the Treaty area.

The chief delegates were joined by civilian medical experts for the Expert Study Group which began its meetings on June 8. The proposal for the study originated at the Third Meeting of the Military Medical Committee, held in 1969, which recommended that SEATO should embark on a medical action programme to help fill existing gaps in health care in SEATO regional countries.

● Senior delegates to the SEATO Military Medical Committee Meeting arriving for the opening ceremony at SEATO Headquarters. From left to right (front step): Major General Thip Pholpoke, Thailand, who was the Conference Chairman; Air Vice Marshal L.R. Trudinger, Australia; (second step), Rear Admiral F B. Voris, United, States; Group Captain K. Bremner, New Zealand, Brigadier General Vu Ngoc Hoan, Surgeon General, Armed Forces of the Republic of Vietnam, who attended the conference as an observer; (top step) Major General R.A. Smart, United Kingdom, and Colonel Augusto E. Hocson, Philippines.

The Expert Study Group is to submit a report to SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas for consideration by the SEATO Council Representatives. (See "Medical Experts Present Report"—p. 32).



COLLECTIVE

'SEATO an indispensabl instrument of allied mutual defence in South-East Asia'

THE threat of Communist aggression in Asia affected the peace of the area and the problem of collective security throughout the region, Admiral John S. McCain, Jr, USN, C-in-C Pacific, told a SEATO Orientation Course on June 15. In the Pacific, the Communists were using the whole gamut of threats, both active and potential, that they had at their disposal.

There was also the continuing global threat which the free World faced from the ambitions, goals, and activities of Communist countries. "We must recognize it if there is to be peace. Only a firm, positive posture on our part, backed by adequate military capabilities—the deterrent power vital to our national interests—can assure the security of this region, and with it, that of the Free World," said Admiral McCain.

SEATO was very important in the containment of Communist activities in South-East Asia. "And if we did not have SEATO we would have to invent this organization. In the 22 months that I have had this command I have found that in order to solve problems you just have to establish channels of communication. This is an important function of SEATO. It is especially invaluable as we face the continuing crises confronting us today," the speaker declared.

The leaders of Communist China, North Korea and North Vietnam were the most formidable problem Free World diplomacy had ever faced. "They are not rational in the psychological and political sense which you and I understand. They are insensitive to life and property. Theirs is a long-range goal of territorial and ideological conquest. And to achieve this objective they are ruthless and resolute, patient and persistent."

The fact that the leaderships of the four Communist powers in Asia were divided by differing motivations and ambitions increased the difficulty of predicting what they might do in the way of possible military adventures.

Admiral McCain continued: "We have fought two major wars with the Communist powers in this area. Two of these nations (North Korea and North Vietnam) have taken aggressive action which led us into wars not of our own choosing."

Soviet objective

The Soviet Union's primary immediate objective was to have the countries of the area look to the USSR rather than China for leadership, inspiration and help. In competing with Peking for leadership of the Communist world, the Russians could be expected to continue to assist their North Korean and North Vietnamese Communist Allies by providing large quantities of weapons, equipment and supplies.

The Russians appear to support containment of the Vietnam conflict, to reduce possibilities of its leading to general war. For this and other reasons of their own, rather than through any lack of opposition to U.S. objectives, they appeared to favour dialogues concerning a Vietnam settlement—on Hanoi's terms, however.

The growth of Soviet military offensive capability continued unabated, but the major potential source of danger in the Western Pacific came from Communist China.

The Communist Chinese had extended terri-

ECURITY IN ASIA

rial claims to parts of India and had occupied ibet. Their forces also had clashed with Soviet oops—on the Kazakhstan-Sinkiang frontier, which atured major fighting, comparable to that of March, 969, on the Ussuri River frontier, 2,000 miles to the st.

As to intentions, the Chinese Communist forces ppeared at present, in spite of Peking's bombast bout nuclear war with both the U.S. and Russia, be defensively oriented in make-up and deployent. However, their nuclear capability would before ng be able to span most of Asia and the Soviet nion.

Turning to the Republic of Korea, the speaker id that the North Korean threat had not diminished the last two years. Stepped-up infiltration to the outh, the brazen capture of the U.S. naval vessel ueblo, and the shooting down of an American plane any miles from North Korean air space, reflected a uculence that could escalate sharply into major war.

The Taiwan Strait was another area of Comunist pressure: a Communist Chinese attack on aiwan would be a foolhardy venture. But the posbility could never be excluded. "Liberation" of Taiwan ontinued as a cardinal Chinese Communist objective.

The South China Sea separated the Philippines rom the mainland Communist aggressive threat. Conscious nevertheless of the long-term danger, the Philippine Government provided important bases in upport of the Free World stand in Vietnam and, ltimately, the security of the Philippines. The Huk ebellion was a constant reminder of Communist nsurgency.

In Indonesia, effective measures had been taken o prevent the Peking-oriented Communist Party of ndonesia from reviving on an important scale.

In Malaysia, a generally promising course of developments had been tragically interrupted by the ast year's communal disturbances and riots. The still nsettled situation provided fertile ground for Comunist subversion. Singapore had so far remained ittle touched, but an extension of Communist-inspired nstability to that island nation would imperil freedom f passage through the Malacca Straits which were rucial to Asian petroleum imports for its nidustry.

Admiral McCain said that there was clear evidence of Peking's aggressive designs in the mounting Chinese Communist-directed and supported insurgency in Northern Burma.

In North and North-East Thailand insurgency was inspired and directed by Peking and Hanoi. The Royal Thai Government was moving to meet the threat. "The outcome is not yet clear, but there is solid ground for confidence that unless the external basis of the insurgency is magnified, the Thai authorities will, with continued U.S. material and advisory assistance, progressively bring the insurgency under control," said the speaker.

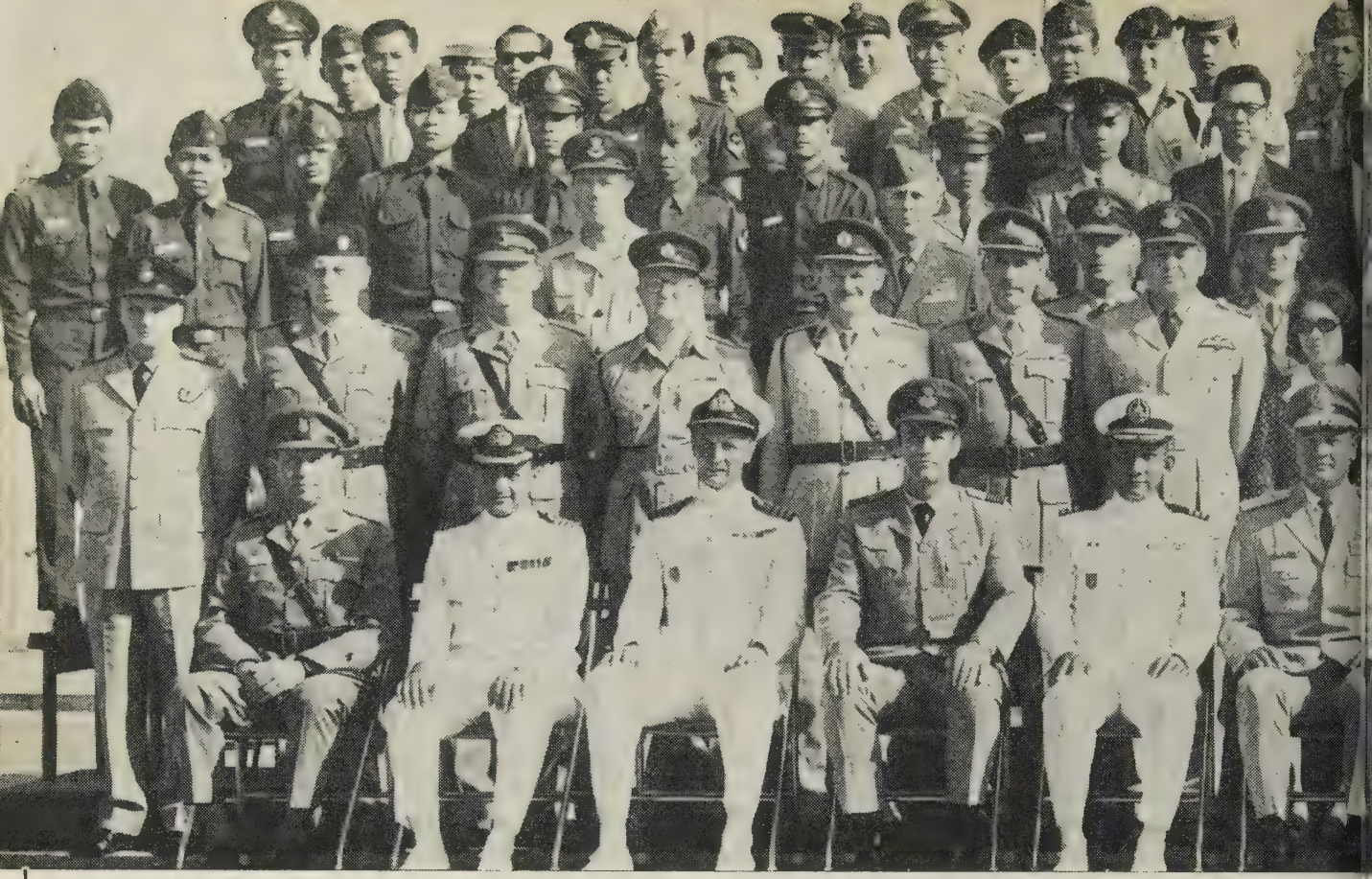
Regarding the future of Cambodia and Laos, President Nixon had explained that the U.S. was exploring "methods through which the neutrality of countries like Cambodia and Laos, who cannot possibly defend themselves," would be "guaranteed without having the intervention of foreign forces."

Hanoi's aims

Enemy aggressiveness continued to be the determining factor in the Allied search for a just peace in Vietnam and the entire Indochina area. Hanoi was greatly concerned about the progress of South Vietnam's pacification and Vietnamization programmes. Intelligence revealed that Hanoi's objectives were to wear down the resolve of the Free World, discredit the pacification programme, disrupt the Vietnamization progress, and, most importantly, to exert pressure on United States and world public opinion.

It would be unrealistic to hope that a Vietnam settlement, when achieved, would end the threat of aggressive Communism. "Backed by U.S. ground, sea, and, air power, our allies must develop and maintain conventional forces to help deter the aggressive ambitions of their Communist neighbours," said Admiral McCain.

Free World defences against the continuing Communist threat throughout East Asia continued to rest on a combination of U.S.-allied bilateral treaties and SEATO. Last year at Bangkok the SEATO nations had solidly reaffirmed their adherence to SEATO as an indispensable instrument of allied mutual security in South-East Asia.



IN FOCUS

MAJOR General Autrey J. Maroun, Chief, SEATO Military Planning Office (seventh from left in the front row), pictured with his staff before he returned to the United States on June 30 for reassignment at the end of his two-year tour of duty.

The SEATO Military Advisers have agreed that Australia will fill the appointment in about December this year.

Until the new Chief is nominated and arrives in Bangkok, the Deputy Chief, Brigadier General Felix T. Pestana, Philippines Air Force (on General Maroun's right), will direct the work of the Military Planning Office.

● *Lieutenant General Sir Thomas Daly, Chief of the Australian Army General Staff, had discussions with SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas during a recent visit to SEATO Headquarters Bangkok. From left to right: Secretary-General Vargas, General Daly and SEATO Deputy Secretary-General Robert Hyslop.*

MEDICAL OFFICER FOR VIETNAM POST

Lieutenant-Colonel K.J.A. Fleming, Royal Australian Army Medical Corps, who was appointed the first SEATO Medical Staff Officer in April, 1968, returned to Australia in June at the end of his tour of duty.

"During Colonel Fleming's term at the SEATO Military Planning Office great progress has been made in refining the medical aspects of the SEATO defensive plans", said Major General Autrey J. Maroun, Chief, Military Planning Office, at a farewell luncheon for Col. Fleming.

General Maroun said that through Colonel Fleming's introduction of the "SEATO Medical Bulletin," the Organization was now collating the wealth of medical information available from SEATO member nations and distributing it to where it would do the most good both in the military and civil field.

Col. Fleming has been appointed Assistant Director Medical Services, Australian Force, Vietnam.

'Sea Rover' memento

● *The Director of this year's SEATO Exercise, "SEA ROVER," Rear Admiral William T. Rapp, United States Navy, visited SEATO Headquarters recently before returning to America on reassignment. Here he presents a replica of the "SEA ROVER" badge to SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas. Admiral Rapp was also Director of SEATO Exercise "SEA SPIRIT", held in 1969.*

U.K. appoints new SEATO Military Adviser

Air Chief Marshal Sir Brian Burnett

AIR Chief Marshal Sir Brian Burnett has been appointed SEATO Military Adviser for the United Kingdom, Commander-in-Chief, Far East, it was recently announced. He learnt to fly in 1932 in the Reserve of Air Force Officers and became a member of the Oxford University Air Squadron. He joined the Royal Air Force in 1934 and in 1938 he was Pilot-Navigator of one of the single-engined Wellesley aircraft which set up the world's non-stop long distance flying record of 7,162 miles from Egypt to Australia.

In 1939 he was promoted Squadron Leader and served the early part of the Second World War in No. 4 Group, Bomber Command. He led No. 51 Squadron (Whitleys) before going on to command the Navigation Training School at RAF Mount Hope in Canada, in the rank of Group Captain.

At the end of the war he completed the RAF Staff College Course and stayed on the Directing Staff until he joined the United Nation's Military Staff Committee in New York in 1947-48.

In 1954-55, he commanded RAF Gaydon, the first "V" Bomber Station, and then attended the Imperial Defence College in 1958. In 1961 he was appointed Air Officer Commanding No. 3 Group, Bomber Command, with Valiant, Victor I and Victor II aircraft.

He then became Vice-Chief of the Air Staff from 1964 to 1967 in the rank of Air Marshal and was promoted to Air Chief Marshal in October, 1967. Soon afterwards he became Air Secretary at the Ministry of Defence in London from December, 1967, until March, 1970.

Sir Brian was an ADC to the Queen from 1953 to 1956 and in June, 1969, was appointed an Air ADC to the Queen. He was awarded the Air Force Cross in 1939, the Distinguished Flying Cross in 1943 and was created CB in 1961, KCB in January, 1965, and GCB in June, 1970.

He was born at Hyderabad, India, in 1913.

Medical experts present report

THE SEATO Expert Study Group which looked at medical problems in South-East Asia has presented its report to SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas.

Gen. Vargas said that the group's work was an important humanitarian project to help improve the health conditions of the people of South-East Asia.

The photograph (left) shows the experts with Gen. Vargas—(from left to right): Dr. D.S.M. Graham, MBE, Australia; Dr. Amorn Nondasuta, Thailand; Group Captain K.R. Bremner, MBE, RNZAF; Major General Thip Pholpoke, MC, RTA, and Gen. Vargas.

The General's farewell

MAJOR-GENERAL Autrey J. Maroun and Mrs. Maroun were guests of honour at a farewell dinner dance in Bangkok given by the SEATO Military Planning Office which General Maroun has headed for the past two years.

Officers from Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, Philippines, Thailand, United Kingdom and United States attended the dinner.

Right: Gen. Pestana (right), Philippines Air Force, proposes a toast at the farewell dinner. Others in the photograph, from left to right are: Colonel R.F. Fraser, Head of Planning; Gen. Maroun, Mrs. Maroun and Mrs. Pestana.

Below: Colonel J. Reboul (left), the French Military Liaison Officer, and Captain. I.H. Malik, Pakistan, say goodbye to Gen. Maroun at Bangkok Airport.

● *General Maroun waters in a narra tree which was recently planted in the grounds of the SEATO Headquarters to mark his service with the Organization. SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas watches as Gen. Maroun does his gardening stint.*

● *A happy moment for Miss Supha Luesiri, aged 25, of Bangkok, Thailand, when she received the SEATO Literary Award for 1969-70 for her novel "Letters from Thailand". She is seen with SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas (left) and Deputy Secretary-General Robert Hyslop after General Vargas had presented her with the award—a cheque for baht 20,000 (US$1,000) and a certificate—at the Organization's headquarters.*

Thai receives SEATO Literary Award

'A PROMISING AND INTELLIGENT WRITER'

MISS Supha Luesiri, the 25-year-old Thai author, has received the SEATO Literary Award for 1969-70 for her novel "Letters from Thailand". SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas made the presentation of a cheque for baht 20,000 (US$1,000) and a certificate at the Organization's headquarters recently.

Congratulating Miss Supha, General Vargas said that he hoped her success would inspire her to produce more literary works of such outstanding quality. He underlined the importance of the SEATO Literary Awards in stimulating the production of literary works in Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand, whose nationals were eligible for the awards.

Mr. S M.H. Rizvi, SEATO Director of Cultural and Economic Affairs, said that Miss Supha was "a promising and intelligent writer" whose work was the subject of much discussion in Thai literary circles. He hoped that she would write more novels and they would receive international recognition.

"Letters from Thailand", a novel in two volumes written under the pseudonym "Bo tan", was a work of artistic and literary distinction, portraying characters vividly, and bringing home in a realistic but sympathetic style the aspirations of the Chinese in Thailand, and delineating the process of their adjustment in Thai society.

"Miss Supha," said the Citation read by Mr. Rizvi, "has written the novel in the form of letters, which far from being incoherent or disjointed, form a story with a difinite theme. The novel has been written in a literary style not generally attempted by others".

The author, who is attached to the Editorial Board of a Bangkok magazine, is a B.A. of Chulalongkorn University, Thailand. She has had other novels and short stories published.

Miss Supha is of Chinese descent, her father emigrating from China to settle in Thailand. Her mother was born in Thailand.

"Letters from Thailand" tells the story of a traditional Chinese who settles in Thailand and gradually accepts the Thai way of life.

The SEATO Literary Awards recognize talented and meritorious literary works of this nature under the Cultural Programme.

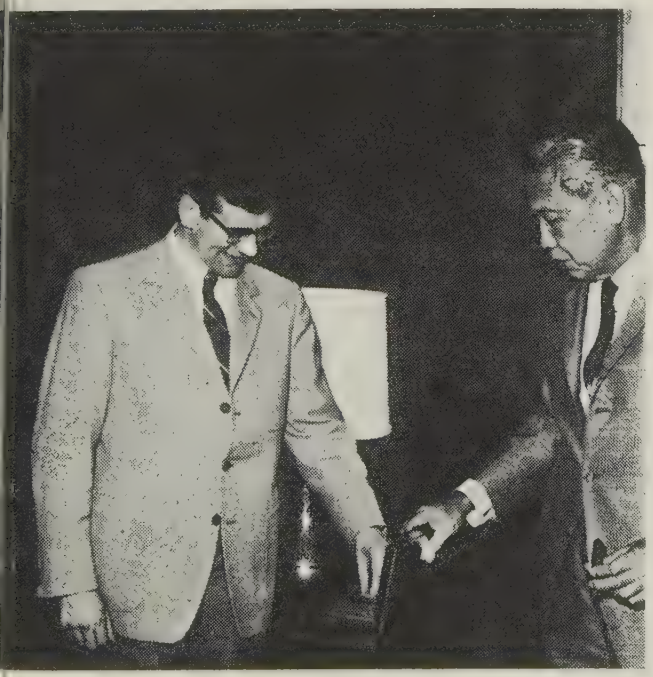
VISITORS TO SEATO HQ

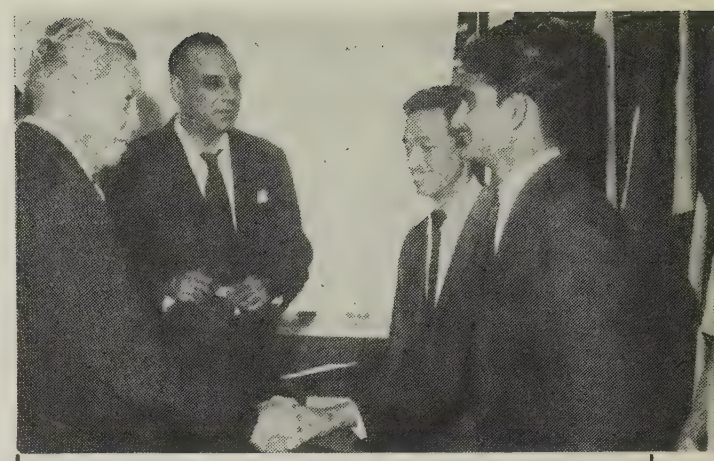
Research Fellowship for economist

DR. Michel Lelart, Professor of the Faculty of Law and Economics, University of Paris and Assistant Director of Research at the National Centre of Scientific Research, Paris, spent two months in Bangkok recently conducting part of his study on "Money and Economic Development in Thailand and Cambodia", for which he has been granted a SEATO Research Fellowship.

While in Bangkok, Dr. Lelart was working with various government agencies and other organizations, including the Bank of Thailand, Government Savings Bank, the Industrial Finance Corporation of Thailand, and the Ministries of Finance and Economic Affairs.

Photo below: Dr. Lelart (centre) during his meeting with SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas. On the left is Mr. Jean-Marc Montguerre, of the SEATO Office of Cultural and Economic Affairs.





THREE post-graduate scholars due to start their studies under the 1969-70 Cultural Programme of the South-East Asia Treaty Organization recently paid courtesy calls on SEATO Secretary-General Jesus Vargas.

Shaking hands with General Vargas is Mr. Maqbool Ahmad, M.Sc. (Hons.) from West Pakistan Agricultural University, Lyallpur, who will study for Ph.D. (Soils) at the University of the Philippines College of Agriculture. On the right is Mr. Mario A. Anzano, B.S., from the University of San Carlos who will study for his M.S. (Organic Chemistry) at Mahidol University, Bangkok. Mr. Pulsakdi Pumwiset, B.Sc. (Hons.), an instructor at the Department of Sanitary Science, Mahidol University, is going to the Philippines to study for an M.P.H. (Environmental Health) at the University of the Philippines Institute of Hygiene.

Mr. S.M.H. Rizvi, Director of SEATO's Cultural and Economic Affairs Office, stands next to General Vargas.

To study weed control

MR. Erasomo G. Sagaral (pictured right), awarded a SEATO Research Fellowship to study chemical weed control in transplanted rice, recently arrived in Bangkok for his six-month work programme at Kasetsart University.

A graduate of Central Mindanao University and holder of a Master's degree from the University of the Philippines, Mr. Sagaral is Head of the Agronomy Department, College of Agriculture, Xavier University, Philippines. After completing his work in Thailand, Mr. Sagaral will continue the rest of his study in Pakistan, Ceylon and Singapore.

Getting to know the farmers' problems

● *Miss M.R. Haswell*

IN developing countries, the main problem was that the overwhelmingly large agricultural sectors were still a major constraint to urgently needed increased rates of economic growth at the national level.

The small highly modernised sector of these countries had a clear responsibility to provide a development thrust to bridge the gap between the urban sector and the isolated rural sector, said Miss Margaret R. Haswell, an Oxford University Senior Lecturer and agronomist, and a former SEATO Research Fellow, in a lecture given recently in Bangkok under the SEATO lectureship programme.

Speaking on the "Development of the Market Surplus in Southern Philippines compared with North-east Thailand," Miss Haswell said: "The problem of the drag of agriculture on national economies of the Third World countries today is financial **BECAUSE** it is institutional. The constraints do not seem to me to be financial **AND** organizational or institutional."

The institutional barrier was that "we do not get in close touch with the farmer on whom we so desperately depend for development. We do not examine abundance and shortage with **HIS** eyes."

Miss Haswell continued: "We continue to make decisions based on our own perspective—often from remote desks in remote capital cities."

She drew attention to two projects which were providing "vitally important" lessons on how to break through this barrier.

They were the newly-opened Re-settlement Scheme in Agusan Province in the Philippines, and the Saraphi Project, in Nakornrajsima Province in Thailand. These two projects owed a great deal to leadership.

"The manager in each case is trusted and respected by the local people, because he first listens to their problems, takes account of their viewpoint, and by joint effort, little by little, scarcity factors are overcome," said Miss Haswell.

There was, however, one factor which was highly contributory in these two cases, and that was the collaboration of an outside agent—"Not for the money which they contribute, but for the confidence and support which they provide for the local manager—whose task is hard by any standard."

The manager of the Agusan Re-settlement Scheme was supported by technicians provided by the World Council of Churches. Their immediate action had been to make a thorough survey of existing conditions in the area, and the intention was to re-survey at regular intervals. This would guarantee the availability of an important source of basic data for economic analysis.

The manager of the Saraphi Project had already achieved remarkable progress in under five years.

It was the managers of such projects as Agusan and Saraphi who were the men of the moment.

"These are the men who are in closest touch with the farmer, who live and work among the village peoples, who can best get development on the move. In other countries, there are far too few of them in the field, for, as soon as they prove themselves to be men of substance, they seem to be skimmed off to fill administrative posts in capital cities. And they are lost to the farmer to his utter despair," said the speaker.

But peace and order must be secured in rural sectors for higher rates of agricultural growth. And some at least of the best of a country's leaders must be spared for this vital task in the field.

"This is surely the first priority, without which economic development can make no significant gains for nations as a whole," Miss Haswell concluded.

SHARKS -

THE SEARCH FOR AN EFFECTIVE REPELLENT

SINCE the dawn of recorded history, man has sought in vain for some method of protecting himself against shark attack. No one knows how many seamen and fliers were devoured by sharks during the Second World War. In fact, not even the toll taken in Australia's coastal regions can be accurately assessed, as many of those supposed to have drowned but whose bodies were not subsequently recovered may have been shark attack victims; since they passed undetected, they remain unrecorded.

It was not until 1941 that the first serious approach to the subject of shark repellents was made. In that year the United States Navy began an investigation into possible means of providing protection from shark attact, and this led to the development of a chemical repellent commonly known as 'shark chaser'. Research workers established that rotting shark flesh was distasteful to some species of shark, and by distilling this decomposing flesh the repellent, ammonium acetate, was isolated.

Further experimental work showed that copper

By

THEO W. BROWN (pictured right), research associate of the School of Biological Sciences of the University of Sidney, the Medical Oceanographic Branch of the Institute of Medical Research of French Polynesia, and the World Life Research Institute of Colton, California.

sulphate was an even more powerful repellent than the extract from decomposing shark meat. These two chemical agents were combined, and the U.S. Navy produced a mixture of one part of copper acetate to four parts of a dye which was incorporated to hide the user from the sharks' vision.

However, since its introduction, this combination has proved unreliable, as have other forms of chemical repellent agents experimented with. A variety of chemicals, poisons, irritants, stenches and the like have been tried, but with little success. Chemical repellents dissipate, assisted by ocean currents, and they are too much affected by the existing water conditions.

Other possible means of providing protection have been investigated. These include repellents that act on the visual apparatus of sharks—usually dyes, electrical devices and barriers, and so on. In 1960, world-wide publicity was given to a new mechanical shark repellent—a bubble curtain. A perforated hose was strung along the bottom and compressed air sent bubbles racing to the surface. Scientific tests proved the idea was not worth pursuing.

In the United States, experiments have been conducted with a plastic container supported by inflatable rings, into which the survivor of a tragedy at sea places himself. Although the plastic container has proved successful under some conditions, isolating the person in the water from the sensory systems of cruising sharks, application of this method is restricted.

CONTINUED FAILURE

The history of shark repellents is one of continued failure; this is amazing when we consider that man has conquered space but cannot as yet adequately protect himself from what is, after all, a primitive form of life on this planet. The problem facing research personnel is to find some form of repellent with an unlimited scope of application.

It was not until 1960 that I became actively interested in shark repellents and the problems associated with investigating them. Although I had been involved in one shark attack incident at Woodman's Point, near Perth, during March, 1956, while conducting night diving activities from the naval Jetty, I had little interest in undertaking experimental work in the field.

During the afternoon of a hot, still summer's day in January, 1960, however, I had my second encounter with an attacking shark. A 13-year-old boy, Kenneth William Murray, was attacked and fatally mauled while we were swimming together in Middle Harbour, Sydney. This shocking incident completely altered my outlook on the problem, and the need for some form of positive protection.

My initial experimental programme involved a detailed investigation of all the known forms of shark repellents. Finding that no existing method could be regarded as even moderately reliable, I decided that an entirely new approach to the subject was needed.

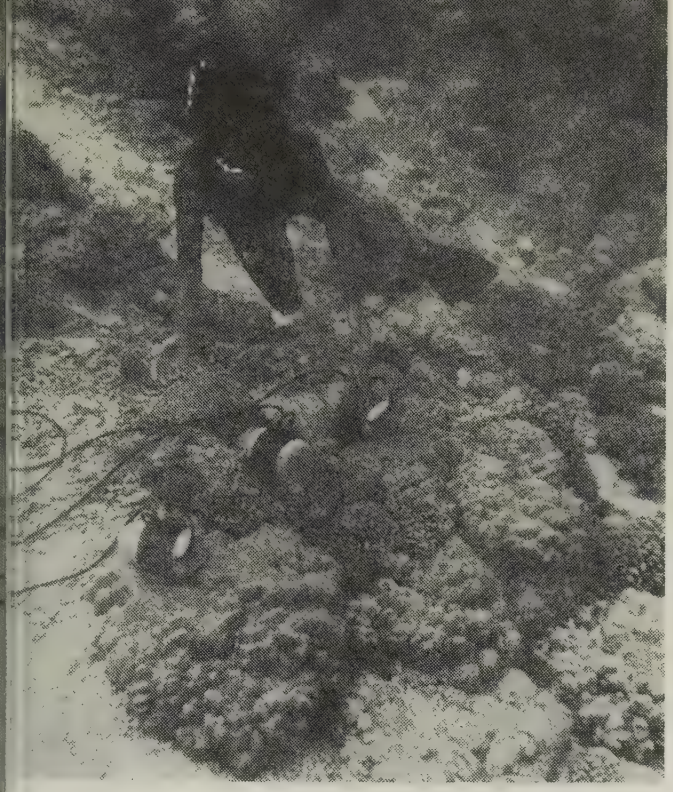
SOUND STIMULUS

The attack on Ken Murray was carefully investigated, and it became apparent that an important factor had been the sound stimulus emitted by the victim—that is, sound vibrations or frequencies attractive to the shark. It appeared that the boy's splashing and playing in the water had been the main factor leading to the attack.

To investigate this theory further and substantiate it, a series of experiments was conducted in northern Queensland and New Guinea waters. This work related to 'swimmers in distress and the related effect on the behaviour pattern of sharks', the term 'distress' being used to imply any unusual or violent movements in the water, including splashing or thrashing about as well as panic-stricken or drowning motions.

These experiments gave conclusive proof that, through unusual, erratic or violent motions in the water, a swimmer transmits a form of attractive sound vibration or frequency combination which would be acted on by a shark. This form of attractive sound was defined as 'distress stimulus' and found to be similar to the vibrations of frequencies emitted by a wounded fish or a fish in distress.

Swimming strokes were also investigated and it was established that a relaxed form of breast-stroke was the safest method of moving through the water in the close vicinity of a shark. Strokes which involved lifting any part of the limbs (arms, hands, legs or feet) above the surface of the water were to be avoided, as the splashing, even if regular, could still make a shark aggressive.



WE: These underwater transmitting units, which the diver is positioning, work at depths of up to a 100 feet.

HT: Attracted by the transmitted signals, frenzied sharks fight to reach their source and batter themselves under the coral overhang,

It was then reasoned that if sound played an important part in attracting sharks, perhaps the reverse would apply, and a repellent effect could be achieved with selected sound frequencies.

The initial experiments began with the underwater transmission of a variety of audible sounds. These were many and varied and included sirens, bells, gongs, whistles and musical instruments; human voices, screams and cheering; mechanical sounds such as car crashes, express trains, jet and piston engines, gun shots, explosions, and the like; also 'pop' and 'hit' tunes, as well as classical music. It had been hoped to find some form of pattern in the reaction of sharks and bony fish to these audible sounds, but this was not forthcoming. The results were so varied and unpredictable that any uniform comparison was out of the question.

Sudden loud noises may, in some cases, have had the initial effect of repelling a shark or sharks, but with continued experiments in the same locality the species of shark soon became accustomed to the pattern and ceased to respond.

Attention then focused on the transmission of pure signal tones. It would appear that the sharks encountered during the experimental work are out receptive to sound frequencies above the sonic or audible level, but this may not be true, with any degree of accuracy, of sharks in general.

The sonic approach has proved to be an extremely complex problem, and it now appears that no one pure signal tone in the frequency range employed will be effective. The repellent signal, if it is to be achieved, will be a combination of frequencies. Each species appears to be repelled by a particular combination of signal tones. That is, although all sharks are attracted by the same frequency range, the reverse applies when the sonic approach is applied in repelling them.

Up to the present, three species of known or reputed man-eating sharks have responded positively to 'repellent' sound transmissions in northern Australian and New Guinea waters: they are the whaler shark *(Carcharhinus leucas)*, the tiger shark *(Galeocerdo cuvieri)*, and the hammerhead shark *(Sphyrna lewini)*. Another two species in the same waters are showing a favourable reaction to the transmission of 'repellent' signals: they are the grey nurse shark *(Odontaspis arenarius)* and the bronze whaler shark *(Carcharhinus brachyurus)*.

The mechanical application of the 'repellent' experiments is simple, and begins with the transmission

➡

The search for a shark repellent

of limited underwater 'distress' frequencies to 'call-in' sharks to the test locality. When a suitable number of sharks have gathered, additional simultaneous sound frequency transmission begins in an effort to find a signal pattern which will repel the sharks from the source of the attractive 'distress stimulus'. Unfortunately, when attempts have been made to combine the 'repellent' sound frequency combinations for, say, the whaler shark and the tiger shark, the resulting signal distortion has made the pattern ineffective. What must now be developed is a 'repellent' combination which will have a positive effect on all the known or reputed man-eating sharks.

I feel that any satisfactory all-purpose shark repellent must take effect at the start of the pattern generally adopted by a shark in seeking food. As has been established by scientists such as Dr. Perry W. Gilbert, one of the foremost authorities, the shark's approach to its prey is basically as follows.

At between a hundred and two hundred metres from the target, the shark responds to vibrations or sound frequencies received via the lateralis system (its hearing apparatus), such as would be emitted by a wounded fish or a swimmer in distress.

● *This large rock cod was captured with the aid f sound signals.*

At closer distances, depending on the olfactory stimulus and current, the sense of smell directs the shark to its prey. At closer distances again, the shark makes visual contact with the prey, provided that the water is clear enough.

The important fact to remember is that the olfactory stimulus and visual contact are not essential to direct the shark to the target. The stimulus in the form of distress signals is sufficient in itself; this has been confirmed through detailed field experimental work. Thus, any successful repellent which is aimed at unlimited application must take effect at the beginning of the shark's approach.

Sharks are primitive and subject to basic, instinctive patterns of behaviour, and it is extremely difficult to deter one when its attack has begun. If a suitable repellent can be used at the onset of this pattern, there will be no attack. One method which gives promise of achieving this is the underwater transmission of selected sound frequencies that are objectionable, or perhaps unbearable, to the attacker.

SIGHT AND SMELL

On the other hand, if an attempt is made to use a repellent acting on the shark's sense of smell or visual apparatus, the problems are manifest. A repellent acting on the sense of smell would not take effect until after the shark had started its initial approach, and to my mind its successful application would be extremely difficult. Again, though a repellent affecting the sense of sight could possibly be used, the shark would be, under general conditions, already well into its established attack pattern; and, if the water conditions stopped the shark from making visual contact with its intended victim, no such repellent could be employed.

This means that the method could not be applied in discoloured or turbid water, which excludes most harbour areas, tidal rivers and estuaries, as well as badly discoloured ocean localities such as surf beaches and the site of a disaster at sea.

In addition, during the frenzy feeding of sharks, neither visual contact nor olfactory stimulus offers

● *Divers working on a cage in which research personnel shelter during experiments with sharks in a frenzy state.*

ven a reasonable possibility of developing a deterrent, or sharks in this state consume anything.

A sound deterrent or repellent has large advantages over the other forms. Sound would give instant protection and there would be no time lag such as would occur while chemicals or dyes diffused around the swimmer. Sound would give a greater range of protection, and the sonic deterrent or repellent could be used intermittently to save power; it could work instantly on contact with water to protect stunned survivors.

If a sonic shark repellent is produced, and on present indications it is only a matter of time and detailed field experimental work before this object is achieved, it will have unlimited application. Through underwater sound transmission, harbours and beaches could be given year-round protection. It would be necessary only to establish a repellent signal barrier across the harbour entrance or beach front by placing transmitter units in selected underwater localities.

These could be so designed as to need little maintenance. Power supplies could be maintained by special solar energy re-charging cells, and an appropriate ultrasonic frequency could be incorporated in the signal so as to inhibit the growth of marine organisms on the transmitting unit. The protective sonic barrier would be safeguarded by placing the transmitting units so as to ensure overlapping of the signal pattern, in the event of a unit failure. In addition, a monitoring system would automatically activate a warning device, should the signal intensity drop below the safe operational level. A sonic repellent barrier so formed would not interfere with bony fish life, nor hinder shipping.

The survivor of a tragedy at sea would be protected from shark attack by a small portable transmitting unit which, when activated and hung below him, would transmit an omni-directional signal barrier. Commercial and military aircraft would be equipped with fully automatic units, which in the event of a ditching at sea would activate immediately on impact and contact with water; these would transmit not only a shark repellent signal barrier, but also, over a limited radius, a distress call for searching aircraft and surface vessels. Each unit would also be equipped with a flashing light, to enable contact to be made at night.

In 1967, after experimental work which began on underwater sonic and ultrasonic sound transmission in 1961, plans were made to further the research.

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The search for a shark repellent

The problem of locating a suitable test site was of paramount importance, for, although the waters of northern Australia and New Guinea abound in sharks, the species encountered there were too aggressive for experimental work to be continued with any degree of safety. Funds were not available for elaborate safety equipment.

After negotiations with the French Administration, an initial research project was arranged with the Institute of Medical Research of French Polynesia between 1967 and 1969. (This joint programme has since been extended to include the 1970 and 1971 winter seasons.) Two scientific expeditions went to Rangiroa Atoll of the Tuamotu Archipelago, which is about two hundred miles north-west of Tahiti. The first, in 1968, involved detailed experimental work into the sound frequencies needed to attract sharks to the test locality. Through the use of 'distress stimulus' transmission, it was possible for the first time to gain control of sharks in the frenzy state.

Experimental work with the sound frequencies which 'call-in' or attract sharks showed that, when this form of signal is transmitted continuously, the sharks go into a state of frenzy. Of greater significance was the fact that it was possible to alter the general location of the excited sharks by distances of up to several hundred feet, simply by moving the attractive signal source.

'SUICIDE FRENZY'

Further research with 'distress stimulus' then involved what was termed a 'suicide frenzy' of sharks. An underwater transmitting unit was concealed at the extreme rear of a selected coral overhang, where it was inaccessible to the attracted sharks and thus protected from damage. Omni-directional transmission of 'distress stimulus' was begun with independent transmitting units and, when a suitable number of sharks had gathered in the immediate locality, was discontinued. Transmission on the concealed unit then began.

This signal pattern of attractive sound frequencies continued, and soon a number of the sharks moved into the transmission corridor. They became extremely agitated and violent in movement; several rushed the opening under the coral overhang in an effort to reach the source of the 'distress stimulus'. Such was their ferocity that they became jammed in the opening. As the stimulus continued, more sharks attempted to reach the transmission source and force themselves into the opening beneath the coral,

A number of sharks died as a result of their violent, uncontrolled actions.

Through the adaptation of recorded 'distress stimulus', considerable control has been achieved over sharks. It is now possible to attract or 'call-in' sharks to any selected locality, to hold them there for an indefinite period, and to move them from one location to another—all with the underwater transmission of selected sound frequencies. With this measure of control we can study sharks in their natural environment, thus eliminating the need for expensive laboratory facilities in remote areas.

PROBLEM SOLVED

On first investigating the sonic approach in 1960, I compiled arguments for and against the successful application of the method. At that stage I had no idea how, even if I achieved a positive repellent and a barrier was established across a harbour entrance or beach headland, sharks could be eliminated from inside the barrier.

This problem has now been overcome, and sharks can be moved *en masse* from any given locality to another. On the other hand, the perfecting of the much desired sonic repellent has proved difficult, and complicated research has been required.

The danger of shark attack is ever-present, not only to the survivor of a disaster at sea, but to anyone entering our coastal waters in the course of everyday life. No person, regardless of who he or she is, should be subjected to the indignity and horror of being attacked and devoured alive by a shark.

I feel that in the sonic approach to a shark repellent we finally have a key to open a door which has long remained closed to man.

(We are grateful to the Editor, of "Hemisphere", the Asian-Australian monthly, for allowing us to use this article, which is not for reproduction elsewhere).

ABOVE: Large barracudas, between six and seven feet long, swim towards the attractive "distress stimulus" signal. Since bony fish can be attracted by sound to a selected locality, and some are of commercial value, fish farming may become a reality in the oceans, the catch being "called in" to nets.

LEFT: A diver surfaces with a small shark taken for specimen study.

Tarbela will dwarf even the mighty Aswan

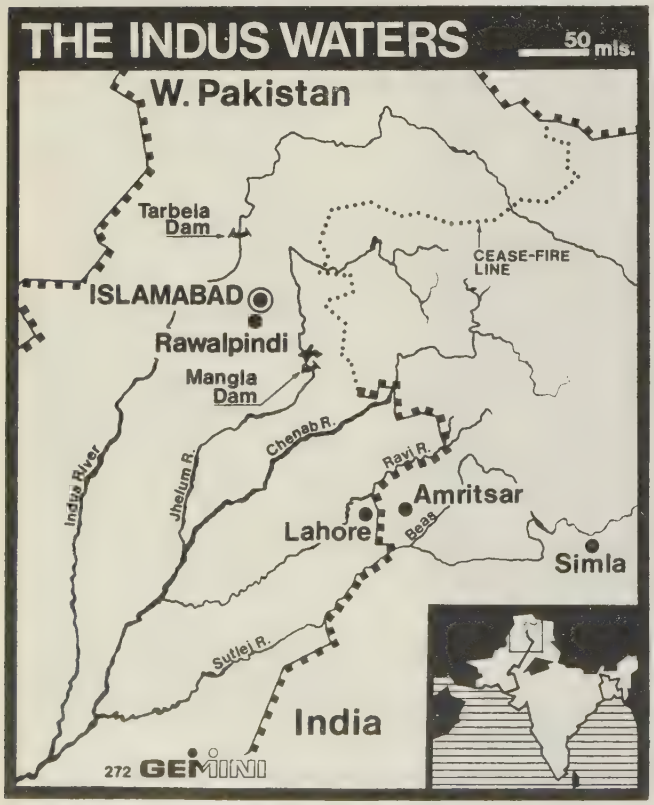
A dam three times bigger and 130 feet higher than Aswan is being built in Pakistan. Its completion in 1975 will culminate the Indus Basin scheme which resulted from a treaty between India and Pakistan in 1960.

BY ABDUL HAKIM

THE gigantic Tarbela dam now being built in the beautiful mountainous terrain 40 air-miles northwest of Rawalpindi in Pakistan is becoming a tourist resort. Work on the site, now made accessible by an airstrip and good road, is in full swing. The bowl-like area resounds round the clock with the clutter and clang of heavy machinery.

Tourists visiting Pakistan find the project area, hemmed in by glistening rocky mountains, a spectacular sight.

Tarbela will be the largest embankment type ("rock fill") dam ever built. The 9,000-foot long main embankment and the auxiliary dams will contain 186 million cubic yards of earth and rock—two-thirds as much as the initial excavation for the Panama Canal. It will cost $827 million.



The project is financed from the Tarbela Development Fund, establish in 1968 from grant and loan funds made available by Britain, Australia, France, New Zealand, Pakistan, the United States, Federal Germany, Italy, Canada, and the World Bank.

Foreign exchange needs are met from foreign grants and loans. Rupees for local expenditure are provided by Pakistan. The World Bank administers the fund.

The dam will be three times bigger than Egypt's High Aswan Dam, which had a total fill of 53 million cubic yards. Tarbela will also be 130 feet higher than the Aswan Dam, which is 355 feet high.

The world's second largest dam in point of volume is Mangla Dam and its subsidiaries on Jehlum river (130 million cubic yards) immediately followed by Fort Peck Dam, the Oahe Dam, and the Carrison Dam, all on the Missouri river in the United States.

CHEAP POWER

Due for completion in April, 1975, it will bring in a net increase in agricultural production during ten years onwards, to 840 rupees crores (about 1,680 million American dollars) and also produce 2.1 million kilowatts of cheap hydro-electric power—more than double the present power generating capacity in West Pakistan.

The Tarbela dam will create a 100 square-mile lake to conserve surplus flood waters of the Indus which will be released for irrigation during low flow periods.

The first phase of the work on the division channel is due to be completed by October. Over 20,000 persons, including 500 engineers and supervisors

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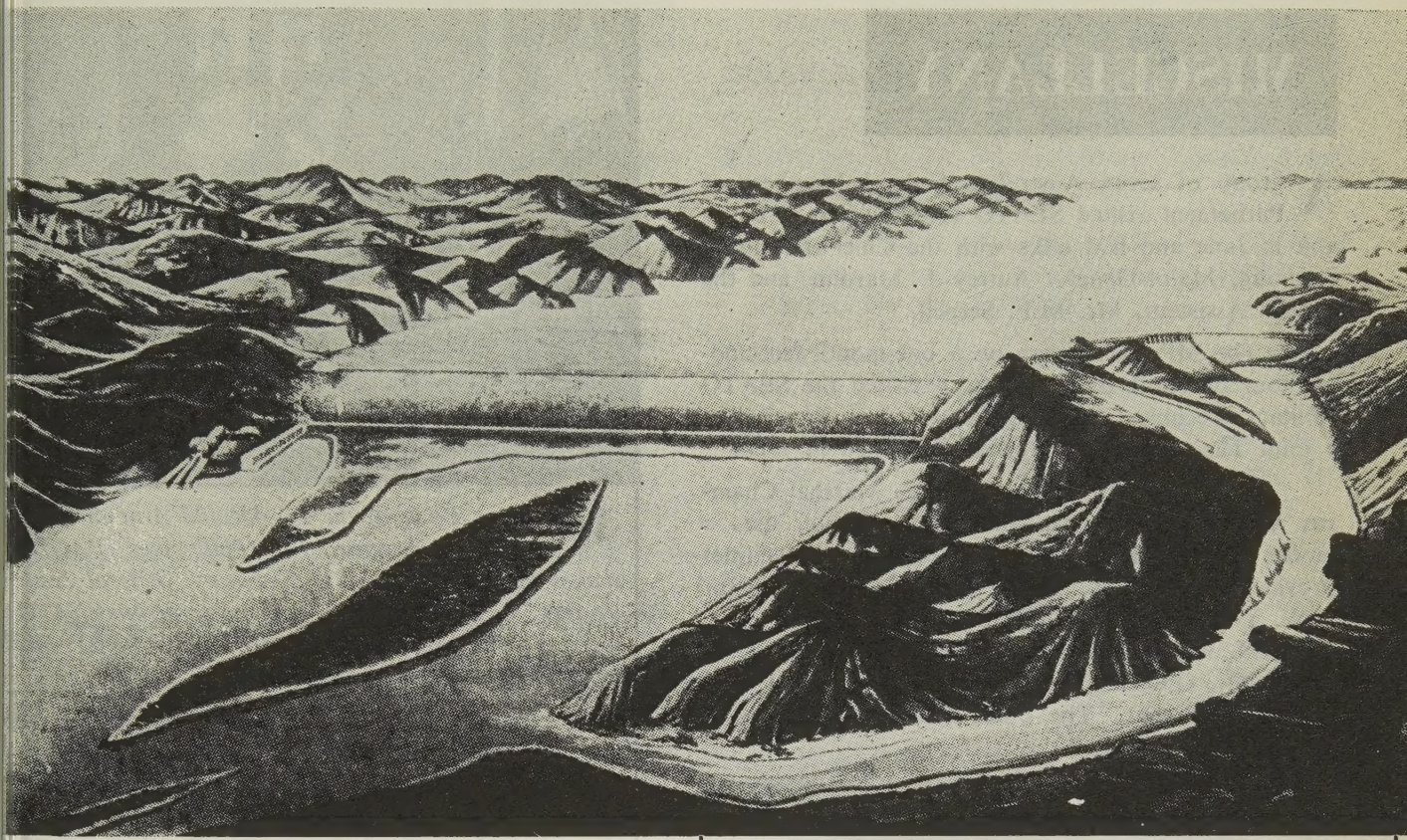


● *How the Tarbela Dam will look when completed*

nd 600 foreigners in double and triple shifts, are at work harnessing the river.

The dam marks the culmination of the Indus Basin scheme that followed the treaty signed with India in 1960 to settle the river water dispute. Soon after Independence, India had asserted proprietary rights over the waters of the Eastern Rivers, i.e. Sutlej, Beas and Ravi. This subsequently developed into a major water dispute between the two countries.

India's move to stop supplies from the Eastern Rivers, together with the already precarious supplies to the vast irrigation system in West Pakistan, particularly during the critical crop periods, constituted a major threat to the future of irrigated agriculture in Pakistan. Development of storage reservoirs, therefore, was an urgent necessity for the country's survival.

After years of negotiations the division of the Indus River System was agreed.

The Treaty allocated to India the three Eastern Rivers with a total mean annual flow of 33 million acre feet. The Indus main, with its other two tributaries, the Jhelum and the Chenab, designated in the Treaty as Western Rivers, with a total mean annual flow of 135 million acre feet, were allocated to Pakistan.

The Treaty provided for two storage dams—one on the Jhelum River at Mangla, the other on the Indus River at Tarbela—and a large system to link canals and barrages to transfer the waters from the Western Rivers to replace the irrigation supplies received by Pakistan from the Eastern Rivers.

The Indus river, whose waters will be dammed at Tarbela, is the mightiest river of the Himalayas. It embraces within its course the world's highest mountain ranges.

Arrayed across the Indus Valley stand the awesome mountain sentinels in a glistening line of 44 splendid peaks, the largest concentration of high mountains in any river catchment in the world, over 24,000 feet in elevation, all radiant in the sunshine, their summits capped with snow, their flanks of stupendous cliffs bearing away the rich abundance of their snowy covering with vast glaciers rolling down to the bottom of the valley.

Of these Godwin Austen or K2 (28,250 feet) is the most famous. Many peaks, are unexplored, not even named and yet are higher than 15,771 feet Mont Blanc.

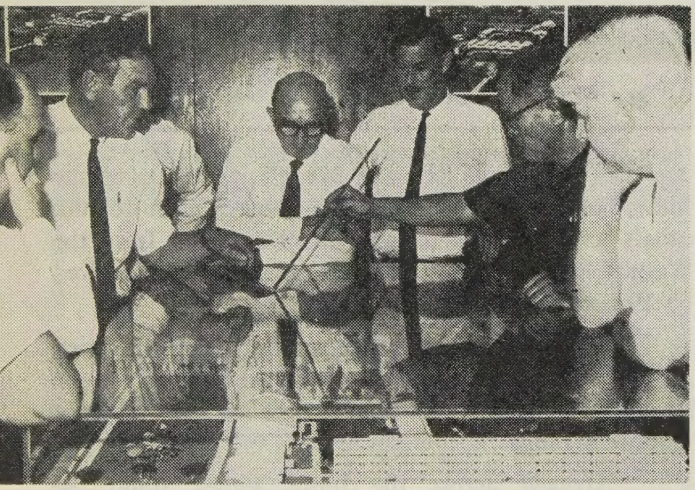
(this article must not be reprinted)

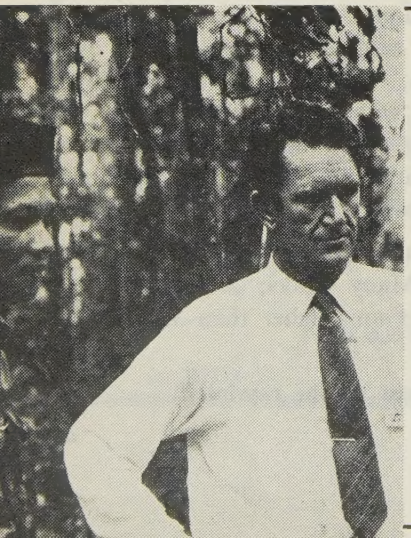
MISCELLANY

A group of seven Australian Federal Members of Parliament visited SEATO Headquarters in Bangkok in June and had talks with the Chief of Military Planning, Major-General Autrey J. Maroun, and the Special Assistant, Mr. M.F. Serpell.

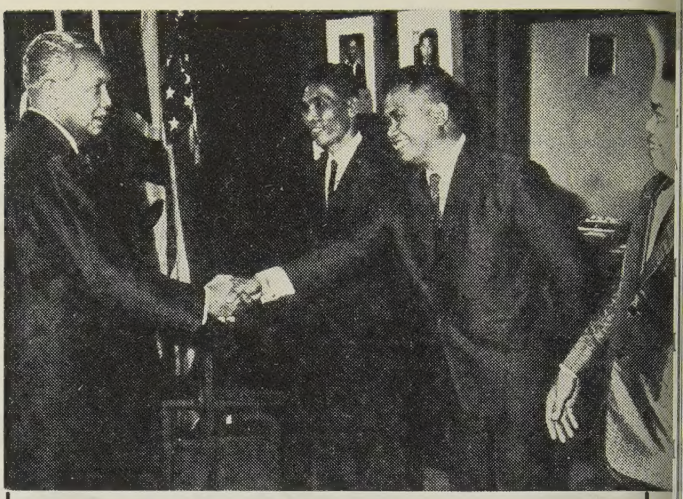
The MPs, who were on a one-month fact-finding tour of South-East Asia, also visited the SEATO Military Technical Training School near Bangkok—a joint Thai-Australian project established in 1960.

In the picture below, Air Vice Marshal Chamras Vinagupta, Commandant of the school, uses a model to show the visitors some of the many facilities provided by Australia. From left to right are: Senator H.W. Young; Sen. R. Bishop; the team leader, Mr. R. McN. Holton, Minister of Repatriation; Mr. C.H. Webb; Mr. G.O.H. Giles; Air Marshal Chamras, and Mr. G.M. Bryant. The other member of the party was Dr. M.G. Mackay.





● **Australia's Minister for Defence, Mr. Malcolm Fraser (right) meets Brigadier-General Mohamad Nordin Bin Mohaludin, commander of the Malaysian-Australian-New Zealand brigade engaged in the exercise, "Bersatu Padu" which was held in and off Malaysia. Troops, ships and aircraft of Australia, Britain, Malaysia, New Zealand and Singapore took part.**



MR. Jesus Pring of the Presidential Arm on Community Development of the Philippines (PACD) shakes hands with SEATO Secretary General Jesus Vargas, during a courtesy call he made to SEATO together with Messrs. Palmarin Tomas (left) and Fernando Lacaba (right), also of the PACD.

The three officers are in Thailand to observe how community development work, particularly at the amphoe level, is organized, directed and administered. They are participating in the SEATO-sponsored exchange of district-level Community Development Officers' Programme which is aimed at improving the efficiency of community development programmes at the district-level in the regional member countries of SEATO.

Earlier, three Thai Amphoe Development Officers, were in the Philippines for almost three weeks to study and observe community development work at the district (municipal) level.

NEW FACES:

New arrivals at SEATO include: Mr. M.F. Serpell (UK), who has taken over as Special Assistant;

Lt. Col. C.B. Blocker (US) replacing Lt. Col. Homer F. Frailey (US) as a CE planner in the MPO;

Sgt. B.E. Smith (UK) replacing Sergeant T.M. Williams (UK) in the MPO Secretariat;

Master Sergeant Juan Oliveras (RP) succeeding Master Sergeant D. Filipe Alolino in the Philippine Military Adviser's Representative Office in the MPO;

Sergeant J.E. Desautelz (US) replacing Sergeant M.M. Gentkowski (US) as Cartographic NCO in the MPO;

Master Sergeant Sutdhi Chitraprasarn (Thailand) replacing C.P.O. Sanya Somsamai in the Military Administration Office.

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Books added recently to the SEATO Library include the following:

ARASARATNAM, Sinnappah. Indians in Malaysia and Singapore. Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1970. xii, 214p. 325.254

BARKA, Ben. The political thought. Havana, Tricontinental, 1968. 186p. 960

BAUGHMAN, M. Dale. Teacher's treasury of stories for every occasion. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1968. 375p. 808.87

BETHELL, Nicholas. Gomulka: his Poland and his Communism. London, Longmans, 1969. 296p., illus. 920

GALBRAITH, John Kenneth. Ambassador's journal: a personal account of the Kennedy Years. London, Hamish Hamilton, 1969. xx, 656p., illus. 920

GULLICK, J.M. Malaysia. London, Ernest Benn, 1969. 304p., illus. 959.5

KEMP, Ian. British G.I. in Vietnam. London, Robert Hale, 1969. 220p., illus. 920

KEYES, Charles F. Isan: regionalism in Northeastern Thailand. Ithaca, Cornell University, 1969. Data Paper: No. 65. 323.1593

LATEY, Maurice. Tyranny: a study in the abuse of power. London, Macmillan, 1969. 328p. 321.64

LEE, John. The Diplomatic persuaders: new role of the mass media in international relations. New York, John Wiley, 1968. xviii, 205p. 384

SEATO PUBLICATIONS

(The following publications may be obtained, on request, from the Public Information Office, SEATO Headquarter, P.O. Box 517, Bangkok, Thailand.)

SEATO Annual Report 1968-69 (English,)—by Lt. Gen. Jesus M. Vargas, Secretary-General of SEATO.

Story of SEATO (English, Thai) New Edition, 1969.
Information magazine on SEATO's Military and civil activities.

Manila Pact and Pacific Charter (revised 1968)
Texts of the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and the Pacific Charter, with explanatory notes.

Aspects of the History, Culture and Religions of Pakistan
Lectures by Dr. Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Karachi, as a travelling lecturer under the SEATO Cultural Programme.

Post-graduate Studies in Asian SEATO Countries
A guide for applicants for SEATO post-graduate scholarships.

Collective Security: Shield of Freedom (Revised, 1963)
The nature and scope of the various collective security pacts linking 41 nations of the Free World. Foreword by Mr. Pote Sarasin, former Secretary-General of SEATO. 165 pp.

Medical
Research into Disease—I (Revised): Cholera (Pakistan—SEATO Cholera Research Laboratory) in English and Thai.
Research into Disease—II: The Search for Health (SEATO medical projects in Thailand).
Research into Disease—III: Malaria (SEATO Medical Research Laboratory, Bangkok) in English and Thai.

Community Development
Report of the SEATO Seminar on Community Development, July 19-23, 1965. In English and Thai.

The Role of Youth in Asia
Report of the SEATO Seminar on 'Youth's Response to Challenges in Asia', Feb. 13-17, 1967.

Skilled Workers for the Armed Forces (English, Thai)
A description of the SEATO Military Technical Training School, Bangkok.

Training Workers for Developing Industries (English, Thai)
An account of the SEATO Skilled Labour Project in Pakistan, the Philippines and Thailand.

Posters:
Better Communications for Better Living (English, Thai)
Skilled Hands for National Progress (English, Thai)
The Painter's View of his Country—I
Good Health Key to National Prosperity
Highway To Health (SEATO-Cholera Research Laboratory, Dacca).
A Helping Hand On The Land (SEATO Agricultural Research Project).

Communist Economic Subversion: A Reappraisal
by Dr. Hans Heymann Jr. A discussion of the growing Communist reliance on economic measures as tools of foreign policy.

Peking on Revolution
Extracts from speeches and articles on the 90th anniversary of the birth of Lenin indicating the demand for revolutionary uprising.

Defeating Communist Insurgency
by Sir Robert Thompson (Thai translation)

Radio Writers Handbook (English, Thai)
by Madeleine C. Meyer.

The Changing Face of Communism
A lecture in booklet form given at SEATO Headquarters by Douglas Hyde in May, 1968.

Security in Rural Areas
Two papers in booklet form presented by Douglas Hyde at a SEATO-sponsored seminar on internal security in rural areas held in Manila in May, 1968.

What is Communism ? (English, Thai)
by Michael Davis. An straightforward explanation of Communism and its objectives.

Know Your Enemy (English, Thai):
A Study of Communist tactics of infiltration and suggested counter-measures.

Buddhism in Thailand
By R. Bhavilai. A modern Thai's interpretation of Buddhism.

Printed by Sompong Chaicharoen at the Sompong Press Ltd. Part. 14/8 Pracharasdra Road, Bangkok, August 1970

JUST TWO YEARS AGO...

● This was the scene in Prague just two years ago this month following the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the Soviet Union and its Communist allies. The burning Soviet tank, daubed with Nazi Swastika, bears witness to the Czechoslovaks' resistance to the Communist intrusion in August, 1968.